

1990

Curriculum policy in South Australia: 1968-1985

Peter James Manuel
University of Wollongong

Follow this and additional works at: <https://ro.uow.edu.au/theses>

University of Wollongong

Copyright Warning

You may print or download ONE copy of this document for the purpose of your own research or study. The University does not authorise you to copy, communicate or otherwise make available electronically to any other person any copyright material contained on this site.

You are reminded of the following: This work is copyright. Apart from any use permitted under the Copyright Act 1968, no part of this work may be reproduced by any process, nor may any other exclusive right be exercised, without the permission of the author. Copyright owners are entitled to take legal action against persons who infringe their copyright. A reproduction of material that is protected by copyright may be a copyright infringement. A court may impose penalties and award damages in relation to offences and infringements relating to copyright material.

Higher penalties may apply, and higher damages may be awarded, for offences and infringements involving the conversion of material into digital or electronic form.

Unless otherwise indicated, the views expressed in this thesis are those of the author and do not necessarily represent the views of the University of Wollongong.

Recommended Citation

Manuel, Peter James, Curriculum policy in South Australia: 1968-1985, Doctor of Philosophy thesis, , University of Wollongong, 1990. <https://ro.uow.edu.au/theses/2089>

Curriculum Policy in South Australia: 1968 - 1985.

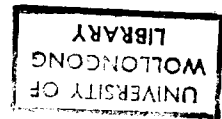
A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of
the degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

from

THE UNIVERSITY OF WOLLONGONG

by



Peter James Manuel.

Bachelor of Arts (Adelaide University) May 1966.

Secondary Teaching Diploma (Adelaide Teachers'
College) Oct. 1965.

Graduate Diploma in School and Community
Relations (Sturt College of Advanced Education)
April 1979.

Member of the Australian College of Education
1981.

School of Policy and Technology Studies in Education. 1990.

Table of Contents.

Acknowledgements	ix
Declaration.....	x
Abstract.....	xi
Diagrams and Charts.	xii
 Introduction.....	 1
Aims of the Study.	1
Significance of the Study.....	2
Structure of the Study.....	5
 Chapter One	
<i>Chronology of Events, 1945 - 1985</i>	10
1.1. Economic Development and Post War Expansion, 1945 - 1968.	10
1.2. Moving into the 1970s.....	19
1.3. New era in South Australian Education.....	22
1.4. From Economic and Educational Growth to Decline.....	27
1.5. Moving into the 1980s.....	30
1.6. On Reflection.....	37

Chapter Two

<i>Reviewing the literature relating to curriculum policy processes.....</i>	<i>38</i>
2.1. The Political Context and Pervading Philosophies.....	39
2.1.1. Idealist Characteristics.....	41
2.1.2. Progressive Characteristics	42
2.2. The Public Policy Process	
- appropriate methodology.....	55
2.3. Key Questions Emerging from the Literature	
Review.....	69

Chapter Three

<i>The Planning, Designing, Conceptualising, and Technical Analysis.....</i>	<i>73</i>
3.1. The Study Design.....	73
3.1.1. 'Curriculum'	73
3.1.2. 'Policy'.....	76
3.1.3. The Anticipated 'Issues' and 'Variables'.....	80
3.1.4. Sources of Data and Information.....	81
3.1.5. Study Design and Implementation.....	83

Chapter Four

1968 -1971

*From Prescription and Direction to Freedom and Authority and new
Purposes*

for Schooling.....91

4.1.1. Personalities and Politics
Prescription or Freedom?.....92

4.1.2. Political Actors and Funding
Considerations.96

4.1.3. Curriculum Organisation
- Prescription or delegated Freedom?
.....99

4.1.4. New Government and Changing
Directions
The Hudson and Jones
Condominium.....102

4.1.5. Decision Making Processes
Freedom and Authority
Memorandum'.109

4.1.6. Securing Further Curriculum
Reform
The "Karmel Report." - an
input from professional
reformers.....110

4.2. Literature and 'The Purposes of Schools'.....118

4.3. Policy Processes

- filtering the issues to determine the purposes of schools..... 120

4.3.1. The place of values in determining ideologies and the purposes of schooling..... 125

4.3.2. Issue definition, and the structural and internal political influences - a democracy or an autocracy? 128

4.4. 1968-1971 in reflection..... 133

Chapter Five

1971-1978

Incremental change, Tireless Tinkering, and Fruitless Endeavours..... 137

5.1. The revised 'Purposes of Schools' document
- tinkering and incremental change 138

5.2. 1975-1978
a period of fruitless endeavours? 147

Chapter Six

1978 - 1981

From Incremental Change to an Inspirational jump..... 157

6.1. The New Policy Making Structures..... 159

6.2. The new Curriculum Directorate, its people, power structures, and the passage of policy..... 164

6.3. Setting the Agenda..... 173

6.4. Policy Processes and the Work of the Steering Committee.....	178
6.5. Personalities and Internal Politics in Policy Development.	194
6.6. Publication.....	203

Chapter Seven

1981-1985

<i>Giving Teeth to 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes'</i>	209
7.1. The Context of 'Curriculum Authority and Responsibility'- Internal and External Politics.	211
7.2. The Process.	216
7.3. Reflections and Observations	227
7.4 Links to Curriculum Policy Theory	231

Chapter Eight

<i>The Role of the South Australian Institute of Teachers and the South Australian Parents Associations on State Wide Curriculum Policies</i>	236
8.1. Union Involvement?	237
8.2. Parent Involvement?	264

Chapter Nine

<i>Question of Changing Values as Policy Stimuli?</i>	271
9.1. The Political Background.....	272
9.2. A Question of Changing Values as Policy Stimuli? The Karmel Report into Education in South Australia.	276
9.3. The Interim Committee of the Australian Schools Commission.	283
9.4. New "Realms of Meaning".....	285
9.5. Values in the Early 80s.....	288

Chapter Ten

Research Conclusions and Study Implications

10.1. Curriculum Policy.	296
10.2. The Content and the Significance of the Policy Statements Symbolism or Pragmatism?.....	299
10.3. Who Controlled the Curriculum?	305
10.4. The Literature and Policy Processes.	307
10.5. Agenda Setting.	313
10.6. Politically Motivated Policy Development, or the Work of Professional Reformers of Policy? Internal Politics and Individual Influences on Policy Design.....	318
10.7. Competing Ideologies - a Question of values?	321
10.8. Final Conclusions and Inferences.....	326
Bibliography	330

Appendix A	
General questions asked.....	340
Appendix B	
Sample of more specific questions designed for policy actors.....	342
Appendix C	
Sample letter outlining specific approaches to policy actors.....	345
Appendix D	
Sample of a specific approach to a possible policy actor.....	347
Appendix E	
List of extended interviews.....	349
Appendix F	
South Australian Premiers and Ministers of Education since 1965	351
Appendix G	
Chronology of South Australian Leadership Changes and Major Documents referred to within the study.	352
Appendix H	
Composition of Committees.....	355
Appendix I	
Commonwealth Authorities Grants to South Australia for Educational Purposes.	357
Appendix J	
Summary of Educational Expenditure, S.A. State Government (1964 - 1986).....	359
Appendix K	
Demographic variables in South Australia.....	360
Appendix L	
Memorandum to Heads of Departmental Schools.....	361
Appendix M	
The Purposes of Schools (1975).....	363
Appendix N	
Research Diary and Research Difficulties.	365
Appendix O	
'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes'	(inside back cover)
Appendix P	
'Into the 80s - Curriculum Authority and Responsibil.....	(inside back cover)

Acknowledgements

I wish to acknowledge the patience, skills, encouragement, inspiration, and valuable perceptions of Professor Carla Fasano, Head of the School of Policy and Technology Studies in Education, University of Wollongong. I am greatly indebted to her for the generous support she has provided over four years as supervisor of this study, and her willing efforts to overcome any possible tyranny of distance created by my location in a South Australian country town.

The opportunity to participate in this study, commencing in 1986, was made possible through the support of the then Director General of Education in South Australia, Mr John R. Steinle. I thank him for his confidence in me, and for the valuable advice given unselfishly during the study itself.

To the many senior officers in the South Australian Education Department who participated in and supported this study through sharing their time and perceptions, I give a sincere thank-you. The field research information they provided forms the backbone of this study.

Finally, I wish to acknowledge the tolerance and encouragement of my family, who have given up several vacations to allow me to undertake this research, and to document the outcomes.

Peter J. Manuel.

24/5/90.

Abstract.

Manuel, Peter James., (1990), *Curriculum Policy in South Australia: 1968 - 1985.*, A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree, Doctor of Philosophy (Policy Studies in Education), at the University of Wollongong, NSW.

The study objectives include a detailed analysis of the forces and processes shaping system curriculum policies developed in South Australia between 1968 and 1985. The study aims to provide evidence of the matches and mismatches between theoretical policy models and policy and practices operating in South Australia, to provide research data of value for future theory building about curriculum policy development, and for curriculum development which can be used to train future policy makers within educational settings.

The study is empirical in design, and uses analytical tools developed for public policy. It investigates the degree to which the central curriculum policy making process in South Australia was comprehensive as opposed to incremental in development, whether the sources of the policy agendas were internal or external, how agendas were linked to social and political pressures, whether the policy statements developed by the educational system were outcomes of professional reformers or outcomes of publicly perceived needs, and other issues pertinent to public policy development.

The study shows that curriculum policy development in South Australia allowed for the acceptance of the broad outlines of existing curriculum policy with only marginal changes contemplated in any new development. The processes highlighted the serial nature of the issues, and the piecemeal modification of policies, rather than any single comprehensive approach to the problem.

Two stages of policy development were observed. There was a democratic and consultative stage, where people and organizational politics became as important as processes, and the beliefs and values of key actors as critical as external influences. A brief 'political' stage followed, when other stakeholders or influential individuals reacted to the developed policy drafts and included statements to ensure the achievement of political purposes.

The study also found that broad curriculum policy documents proved to be more effective as an interpretation of past decisions than as a programme or plan for the future. Their greatest attribute became their symbolic use as declarations of the activities of South Australia Education Department.

Diagrams and Charts.

- Diagram 2.1.* **Types of Decision Making.** Lindblom, C.E, & Braybrooke, D. 1963, *A Strategy of Decision Making*, New York, Free Press, p 78.
- Diagram 2.2. **Fragment of a Decision Tree for Issue Filtration,** Hogwood, B.W, & Gunn, L.A. 1984, *Policy Analysis for the Real World*, Oxford University Press, fig 6.1, p 104.
- Diagram 2.3. **Types of Public Policy Making,** after Lasswell, H, (1970), in Hogwood, B.W, & Gunn, L.A. 1984, *Policy Analysis for the Real World*, Oxford University Press, p. 29.
- Diagram 3.1. **Hypothetical Model of the Policy Making Process,** Majchrzak, A. 1984, *Methods for Policy Research, Applied Social Research Methods Series, Vol 3*, SAGE publications, Beverly Hills, p 37.
- Diagram 6.1 **Chart of 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' Curriculum Processes, 1979 - 1981 - from research findings.**
- Diagram 6.2. **'The Purposes of Schools' flow chart - source: personal files of Aston, R. 1978.**
- Diagram 6.3. **'Into the 80s - The Purposes of Schools' - source: personal files of Aston, R. 1978.**
- Diagram 6.4. **'Into the 80s - The Purposes of Schools' time line - source: personal files of Aston, R. 1978.**
- Diagram 7.1. **Functional framework of Areas of Responsibility for Curriculum Policy - South Australian Education Department, 1985.**
- Diagram 9.1. **The Place of Values in the Curriculum,** after Fox, R. 1972, *Innovation in the Curriculum: An Overview*, in *Interchange* Vol 2/3, 1972, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.
- Diagram F.1. **Premiers and Ministers of Education in South Australia (1968 - 1985).**

* The first digit indicates the chapter where the diagram or chart may be found. The second digit is the sequence number within that chapter.

Introduction.

Aims of the Study.

This study aims at analyzing the forces in play and the processes shaping the development of the major South Australian Education Department curriculum policy documents formulated between 1968 until 1985. In particular it includes a study of the forces and processes involved in the development of 'The Freedom and Authority Memorandum' (1970)¹, 'The Purposes of Schools' (1971)², 'The Purposes of Schools' (revised 1975)³, 'The Schools Curriculum 1' (1976)⁴, 'The Amplification of the Purposes of Schools' (1978)⁵, 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes.' (1981)⁶, and 'Into the 80s - Curriculum Authority and Responsibility' (1985)⁷.

The study is empirical in design, and aims at providing through the reconstruction of South Australian curriculum policy processes, information which can be used in the building of theories about policy development within the context of an Australian education system. In particular, it aims at contributing detailed information which will give a greater understanding of strengths, weaknesses, relevance, and the extent to which

-
- ¹ Jones, A. W, 1970, **Memorandum to Heads of Departmental Schools: Freedom and Authority in Schools**, S.A. Education Department, August, (Full text appears as Appendix L.)
 - ² **The Purposes of Schools**, 1971, South Australian Education Department. (Duplicated page circulated to schools).
 - ³ **The Purposes of Schools**, (revised, 1975), South Australian Education Department, Publications Branch.
 - ⁴ **The Schools Curriculum 1**, 1976, Printed by A.B. James, Government Printer, South Australia.
 - ⁵ **The Amplification of the Purposes for Schools**, 1978, South Australian Education Department - first draft
 - ⁶ **Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes**, 1981, D.J Woolman, Govt Printer, Education Department of South Australia,
 - ⁷ **Into the 80s - Curriculum Authority and Responsibility: a Policy Statement for Government Schools**, 1985, Education Department of South Australia.

a range of available theories match the empirical data established from within the South Australian education system.

Further, the study aims at producing a body of knowledge which can be used to establish a curriculum to train future policy decision makers within education systems. In this context, the study aims at giving an understanding of the forces and processes that help shape policy development within an educational bureaucracy.

Significance of the study.

(i) knowledge of curriculum policy development:

The Federal Constitution for Australia makes its six States and two Territories responsible for the educational provision for all students under the age of compulsion¹ and who are within State or Territorial boundaries. While each State or Territorial system has developed differently, they have much in common. All have a centralized bureaucracy responsible for most policy developments, and a system of schooling, often decentralized, where policies are translated into action.

Within the literature very little information exists about the forces and processes that help shape broad curriculum policies within educational bureaucracies. Recorded knowledge is mainly American or English, essentially subject or content oriented, and developed for systems which are organisationally different in structure and size to the State-wide educational bureaucracies found within Australia. Like the other States and Territories, South Australia, the fourth largest education system within Australia according to student numbers, has developed its own curriculum policies.

¹ Currently schooling in South Australia is compulsory for all students between the ages of 6 and 15.

At present the documentation about broad curriculum policy developments in Australia is scant, and therefore an analysis of the historical development of curriculum directions within an Australian educational bureaucracy is important for future theory building about systems in this country.

Australian literature tends to lack specialized theories relating to the development of system wide educational policies. The available theories are largely found in public policy, and are at the best explanatory rather than predictive. The theories available to make sense of educational policy processes in Australia remain under-developed.

This study relies on analytical tools stemming from public policy theory, as well as on overseas literature on educational policy development in curriculum, with the purpose of informing and adding to knowledge about curriculum policy development in an Australian education setting.

(ii) giving understanding to theories of policy making.

Traditionally school systems have been expected by politicians, bureaucrats, social actors, and school communities to play a part in the growth and improvement of society. The part played by these and other stakeholders in education¹ in communicating their expectations has helped to determine the articulated purposes of schools within education systems. In the South Australian setting between 1968 and 1985, the 'purposes of schooling' have become the curriculum policy parameters for school based curriculum content and direction. Their consideration is important to the establishment of theories about methods of determining purposes of schooling in an educational bureaucracy.

¹ Stakeholders are those individuals or groups of individuals who either have some input into the decision making process or are affected by policy decisions on the social problem.

In developing an understanding of the forces interacting and the processes of curriculum policy development in South Australia, a number of questions emerge. For example, did stakeholders expect schools to lead society, or to reflect their needs and values? Did stakeholders believe that schools existed to perpetuate culture, or to develop new cultures? Were schools agents to maintain status crystallization in society, or to develop more egalitarian and equitable values? Were the purposes of schooling pragmatic rather than esoteric, and designed to ensure the economic outlook of the State or Nation?

To what degree were centralized curriculum policy making decisions rational and comprehensive as opposed to incremental and disjointed in their development?¹. Were the sources of policy agendas internal to the education system or influenced by external directions? How were curriculum policy agendas linked to political pressures? Were curriculum policy statements developed as outcomes of professional reformers, or outcomes of publicly perceived needs?

The empirical data obtained in an educational setting from the exploration of these questions will provide information which can be matched against public policy theories to provide data for further theory building about policy determination in education systems organised and moulded by bureaucracies.

(iii) information for future policy makers.

The knowledge obtained through the study contributes to current knowledge and understanding of forces and processes leading to curriculum policy changes. The data obtained about decision making processes and curriculum policy development in the South Australian Education Department can be compared with literature accounts of

¹ Incrementalism assumes the broad outline of the existing situation, with some marginal changes contemplated. Rational decision making of a comprehensive nature is more dramatic, as it is idealistic in its approach, and disregards past policy. (These are described in chapter two).

public policy development processes. This information will assist in the development of theories relating to how curriculum policies materialize in bureaucratic education systems. It also has value to those seeking future involvement in curriculum policy development.

The empirical research information established by the study can be used by organisations or institutions training people in the area of curriculum leadership and the development of system wide curriculum policies. It allows future policy makers to use the experiences documented on curriculum policy development, to learn about the forces that influence policy processes and outcomes prior to individuals becoming participants as policy actors within an educational bureaucracy.

Structure of the Study.

The opening three chapters of this study are concerned with providing a backdrop to the case study, which focuses on the curriculum policy developments in South Australia between 1968 and 1985. The chapters provide a contextual time frame against which these policies developed, an overview of the available literature and theories on curriculum policy development, and a profile of the research methodology. The following four chapters take distinct periods of curriculum policy development in South Australia, and relate in detail the empirical research outcomes, documenting matters of significance to the study objectives. Chapters eight and nine contain research findings which demonstrate the limited influence of industrial unions, parents, and value systems in arriving at policies relating to the purposes of schools in South Australia. Chapter ten provides the key research conclusions by comparing and contrasting the findings with the perceptions of literature and of the public policy processes. The text is supported with appendices which provide statistical information and some further empirical details.

An overview of each chapter follows.

Chapter one provides the background against which curriculum policies were developed in the State of South Australia by contributing a broad perspective of the context and a chronology of significant events relating to curriculum developments in South Australia from the end of the second world war in 1945 until 1985.

Chapter two reviews literature relating to curriculum policy processes, examines the political context and pervading philosophies that relate to the purposes of schooling, and summarizes literature on public policy processes. The chapter establishes key questions for the study, as they emerge from the literature review of both public policy and the more specific area of curriculum policy development.

Chapter three focuses on the study design. It begins by defining meaning to key words such as 'curriculum' and 'policy' as they apply to the South Australian setting, and moves on to identify the issues and variables in the study. The chapter then outlines the preparatory activities of gathering information on such issues as the past and present policy making context, and develops a study methodology. The research study is conceptualized by developing a process to establish a preliminary model of the curriculum problem, formulating specific research questions, and selecting investigatory techniques¹. The technical analysis and processes towards developing conclusions are established.

Chapter four presents the research findings for the first period of the study from 1968 - 1971, where there is a clear movement away from prescriptive curriculum towards freedom and authority at a school level, and a system desire to develop new purposes for schooling. It investigates the influence of personalities, politics, economics,

¹ It should be noted from the outset that the author is a Senior Officer of the South Australian Education Department and in some cases a participant observer of curriculum policy development within that Department. As such, his own experience, memory of events, and current deliberations have been used to contribute to the knowledge about processes of decision making. Where this has occurred, it has been made explicit.

and public reports, and the processes and values establishing new ideologies. Three significant documents¹ are discussed in this chapter. They are the 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum', (1970), sent to Principals of Schools by the Director General of Education, A.W. Jones, 'The Purposes of Schools', (1971), and the 'Report of the Committee of Enquiry into Education in South Australia 1969 - 1970'.

Chapter five provides research findings for the period of curriculum policy development from 1971 - 1978, and scrutinizes the incremental changes made to policy during these seven years. In particular, it examines closely processes leading to revisions of the 1971 'The Purposes of Schools'² document occurring in 1975 for publication in 1976, including the social and political context, commissioned reports³ at both a State and Commonwealth level, and their influence on changes.

Chapter six records research findings for the period 1978 - 1981. Here 'disjointed' and 'incremental changes' to curriculum policy are replaced by an 'inspirational jump'⁴. Changes to the passage of curriculum policy development through processes brought about by new bureaucratic structures are recorded. The main policy document identified for this period is 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes'⁵. During this period, a committee of enquiry established by the South Australian Government reported in

¹ **The Purposes of Schools, 1971; Jones, A. W, 1970, Memorandum to Heads of Departmental Schools : Freedom and Authority in Schools, 1970; Karmel, Peter, H, chairperson. 1971, Report of the Committee of Enquiry into Education in South Australia 1969-1970; op. cit.**

² **loc. cit.**

³ **Karmel, Peter, H, chairperson, 1971, Report of the Committee of Enquiry into Education in South Australia 1969-1970, A.B. James, Government Printer, Adelaide.**

Karmel, Peter H, Chairperson, 1973, Schools in Australia: Interim Committee for the Australian Schools Commission, Report of the Interim committee, Canberra, AGPS.

⁴ **Chapter two discusses these concepts in looking at the formation of public policy.**

⁵ **Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes, 1981, op. cit.**

'Education and Change in South Australia'.¹ The influence of this document on the curriculum policy processes is noted in this chapter.

Chapter seven completes the period of study by giving attention to the curriculum policies developed between 1981 - 1985. The only significant broad curriculum policy document produced in this period was 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes - Curriculum Approval and Responsibility'².

Chapter eight: The literature summary in chapter two identifies Teacher Unions and Parent Groups as major stakeholders in curriculum policy development. This chapter documents the lack of participation by these groups in the South Australian curriculum policy developments from 1968 to 1985.

Chapter nine deals with the question of values, and the anticipated influence of pervading philosophies on the direction of curriculum policies in South Australia. The chapter concludes that the question of values did not have the same direct impact on policy development, or match the experiences recorded in American literature. Hence they challenge some of the study hypothesis, and demonstrate the mismatch of this aspect of the South Australian experiences with other experiences of curriculum policy development.

Chapter ten synthesizes the data from the preceding four chapters, provides the research conclusions, and intimates possible directions for further research. It examines the significance of curriculum policy statements across the entire study period, compares their symbolic value with the pragmatic, scrutinizes who controlled the curriculum and

¹ Keeves, J.P. chairman, 1981, *Education and Change in South Australia - first report of the Committee of Enquiry into Education in South Australia*, S.A. Govt Printer.

² *Into the 80s - Curriculum Authority and Responsibility: a Policy Statement for Government Schools*, 1985, op. cit.

motivated its development, notes the role of professional reformers, and explores the politics of policy development.

The appendices provide further detail to support the manuscript and study conclusions. Appendix 'N' provides an ethnographic overview of the research process in diary form. All other appendices provide policy documentation, samples of instruments used to support the empirical processes of the study, or reference and statistical support for the arguments recorded and developed in chapters four to nine.

Appendices 'A - K': These are examples of the research methodology questions, chronological tables of events, and statistical tables to support the main text.

Appendices 'L - P' (excluding 'N'): These are the key curriculum policy documents referred to within the study.

Appendix 'N': The researchers diary, adds an ethnographic dimension to how the research actually proceeded. It can be seen from the diary that the policy research was not a linear process, but a mixture of science, craftlore, and art¹. It demonstrates to future students some of the likely problems that may be encountered in any ethnographic study of policy processes.

¹ Rossi, P.H, Wright, J.D, & Wright, S.R, 1978, The theory and practice of applied social research, *Evaluation Quarterly*, vol. 2, no. 2, p. 173.

Chapter One:

Chronology of Events, 1945 - 1985.

The historical perspectives described in this chapter, forms a backdrop for this study. No real attempt has been made in this section to analyze why events occurred when they did, or why other courses of action were not pursued. Rather, the text provides a descriptive time frame to policy developments, against which this study provides analytical details.

The study focuses on the period 1968 - 1985, although events are best understood when placed against a longer time-line beginning as early as 1945, and tracing the history of curriculum policy development through to the end of the 1980s. This allows the chosen study period to be placed in context, and gives understanding to the situational changes that brought about new policy directions. Further, it exemplifies the cyclic emergence of curriculum policy interests, and the policy responses to reoccurring agendas.

1.1. Economic development and post war expansion, 1945 - 1968.

The period in South Australia from the Second World War until the mid-1960s (the starting point for analysis in this study), was one of rapid economic development and expansion which stemmed largely from a high demand for agricultural products, a strong immigration policy, and overseas investment in manufacturing, mining, and urban development. These changes impacted on schools, who needed to respond to the demand for new skills, changing cultural and language demands, and lifestyle changes.

At the same time there was an expansion in population, which generated increased demands for new schools and new facilities. Increased wealth made schooling more

accessible to children, and industrial expansion required major developments in secondary education. A great deal of policy effort during this period was directed at planning, and to achieving expansion to meet the new demands.

1945 was seen as an appropriate year to commence any historical research into curriculum policies in South Australia, as the period of expansion was accompanied by two significant events which redirected educational growth in the state at this time.

Firstly, a state committee of enquiry into education,¹ chaired by E.L. Bean (henceforth referred to as the Bean Committee), examined educational practices in government and non-government schools in South Australia. This was the first review since the Act of 1875, when compulsory elementary schooling was first introduced.

Secondly, until 1945, the States had exercised their constitutional rights in providing public education at all levels with minimal interference from the Commonwealth Government. This position remained unquestioned until the Federal Minister of War Organizations (J.J. Dedman) proposed to the Prime Minister (J. Curtin) in 1943, that an inter-departmental committee be formed to review the Commonwealth involvement in education in the impending post-war period². He reasoned that there would be a national need for reconstruction, involving the retraining of soldiers for new jobs, and the question of how to attain full employment had to be addressed.

Thus an inter-departmental committee was formed in 1944 (chaired by Dr E.R. Walker, and henceforth referred to as the Walker Committee), which prepared a report recommending action which the Commonwealth could undertake to discharge its

¹ Bean, E.L. chairperson, 1949, *Education Enquiry Committee, Final Report*. Adelaide Government Printer. (the full committee membership is recorded in Appendix H).

² Tannock, P. D. 1975, *The Government of Education in Australia- The Origins of Federal Policy*, University of Western Australia Press. pp. 6-38.

responsibilities in national reconstruction in the post-war period¹. A Commonwealth commitment to education was established with the formation of a permanent advisory committee on education, and with it came the formation of an Office of Education. The State Premiers were invited to help establish an on-going joint education committee with the Commonwealth by nominating State representatives to the committee.

The Bean Committee, established by the South Australian Government at the same time as the Commonwealth Walker Committee, was formed to meet a number of purposes. It was established to recommend changes required to the school curricula to implement a system of secondary education for all children, and be responsive to the needs of the country in post war reconstruction.

The Bean Committee, which met during the closing years of World War Two, presented its first report in 1945, and its final report on Education in South Australia in mid 1949. This education enquiry committee focussed particularly on issues relating to school curriculum,² education values, and their application in school organization and teaching methods. It argued that society could not risk the social costs involved in imposing rigid and mechanical teaching practices, designed to prepare pupils collectively for annual examinations. Such an education system was seen to create frustration and failure in many of the young.

*Competitive achievement, taken as the major determinant of educational performance, involved stresses that could destroy society.*³

¹ Walker, Dr. E.R. chairperson, 1944, **Report of Inter-Departmental Committee on the Commonwealth's Responsibility in Relation to Education**, Gvt Printer. (The full committee membership is recorded in Appendix H).

² Power, Colin, ed, 1982, **The Illusion of Progress: The Keeves Report and the Future of Education**. Papers presented at the 1982 School of Education Seminar Series on the Report of the Committee of Enquiry into Education in South Australia, editorial comment, p. 1.

³ Bean, E.L. chairperson, 1949, *op. cit*, p. 212.

The Bean Committee's first recommendation was to abolish the examination system¹, and increase to the school leaving age so that more pupils could experience secondary schooling. This recommendation met spirited opposition, for employers felt strongly that to remove public examinations would bring a decline in standards of education. They opposed the Bean proposals in South Australian newspapers.²

The Bean Report (1949) was issued in the context of a chronic shortage of teachers, and burgeoning primary school enrolments. Indeed, 45% of grade I-IV classes had in excess of 50 pupils, 84% having in excess of 40³, at a time when a commitment was taken to provide secondary schooling for all 12-13 year olds. Most teachers were struggling with growing class sizes, and lacked the equipment necessary to enrich or individualize the curriculum, and many lacked the technical expertise to teach in secondary schools,

The Bean Report signalled the likely problems ahead.

... the facts of the great increase in the proportion of children passing from primary to secondary schools, of the diminishing range of their ages, and of the very wide range of capacity of achievement, which have always existed, and will widen still more. The problem remains then, how best to educate our boys and girls, bright, dull, and in-between, at the secondary stage.⁴

The committee did not provide answers, but rejected the English system of selective secondary schooling, arguing that in time the technical and high schools in

¹ In South Australia, many pupils were barred from Secondary Education by an examination (Qualifying Certificate, or QC) at the end of their seventh year of primary schooling.

² Theile, Colin, 1975, *Grains of Mustard Seed*, Education Department of South Australia, S.A. Government Printer. pp. 202-212.

³ *South Australian Statistical Register*, 1949, (ABS, Adelaide)

⁴ Bean, E.L, chairperson, 1949, *op. cit*, para. 350.

South Australia would merge into comprehensive schools, using mixed ability grouping as the basic organizational mode.

The Bean Report saw the purposes of schooling needed to change from a narrow reading, writing, and arithmetic experience and examination governed education system to a more comprehensive one, aimed at producing worthwhile citizens. The Bean Report was critical of whole class teaching methods, and school organization that focussed on product alone.

In our opinion the greatest defect in educational method has been that all of us, parents as well as teachers, have preoccupied ourselves far too much with the product of schooling, and far too little with process.....

.....the most valuable change of outlook, on the part of the community as well as the school, would be the firm realization that the goodness of the product of schooling is wholly bound up in the goodness of the process which occurs in the mind of the child.¹

The central theme of the Bean Report was the loss of productivity within the State as insufficient students were reaching secondary schooling and developing the technical skills required by industry and commerce. The system of promotion by attainment had led to too many children being branded as failures.

So long as school work in the skill subjects is divided into annual blocks, taught by the method of class instruction and tested by the 'catastrophic' of the final examination, the problems of grading and promoting children will never be satisfactorily resolved. There is but one sound principle - the progressive adaptation of the whole educative process to the growing child.²

¹ *ibid*, p. 212.

² *ibid*, para. 187.

As a result the Bean Report recommended individual progression, with the system responding to individual needs, so all could develop to their full capacity to take their place as responsible members contributing to society.¹

In developing its recommendations, the Bean Committee of enquiry had been influenced by psychometric studies of children's mental abilities.² With regard to the 'common curriculum' to ensure a general education, the committee felt that 'every subject in the curriculum, whether academic or practical, could serve as a means of general education', and as such opposed *core curriculum*.³

The Bean Committee had reported against the background of economic depression, and war, but with a strong sense of the coming post-war reconstruction through social reform, and a new productive work-force. It emphasized the pre-eminence of educational values and beliefs in determining teaching methods and organizational recommendations. In doing so it turned to psychology (the thoughts of experts) for its operational principles, and declared the purposes of schools to be 'the building of a better society free from the influences of war'.⁴

The 1949 Bean Report describes its reform proposals as 'radical'⁵ as it questions the nineteenth century system of 'class-teaching' and competition, recommending instead 'individual progression' by children. The old 'class system' graded pupils by achievement, using annual examinations, where-by pupils were taught collectively as a class at a uniform pace. The Bean Report believed that failure, an inherent consequence of such a

¹ *ibid*, paragraphs 187, and 194.

² Keeves, J.P. chairman, 1982, *op. cit*, p. 8.

³ *ibid*, p. 48.

⁴ Bean, E.L, chairperson, 1949, *op. cit*, vol. 2, section 7.1.

⁵ Power, Colin, ed, 1982, *op. cit*, p. 1.

system, denied some the privilege of secondary schooling, and recommended that all children should have equal access to a period of secondary schooling before reaching the school leaving age. This meant that children would progress through the system with their age group, rather than being held back in primary school as an outcome of a promotion system that continually failed those whose performance in recalling knowledge placed them below an arbitrary pass level.

..... The greater mischief of promotion by attainment is that a number of children are, in a sense, cast adrift from schools Under the present system of promotion by attainment they are branded as failures They are misfits because the system has never been fitted to their needs. We therefore condemn the existing practice of promoting by attainment.¹

The social costs were too great, and Bean argued for protection afforded by a pupil-teacher relationship based on mutual respect, drawn against the intrinsic worth of education as a process which derived its value from the content of the learning, and the approach given to it. The Bean Report saw a vital role for teachers in protecting educational values against what it described as 'debasing social pressures'.

Despite the fact government accepted the report, very little was done to change the system of education, or to modify the school curriculum to meet the expressed purposes of individual productivity for a better society. School Inspectors continued to report on the quality of each school, basing their remarks on academic results established by normative assessments using standardized tests. Teachers thus maintained their traditional approaches, as there was little incentive to do otherwise. Teachers were allocated promotion marks based on their results, and thus concentrated on items likely to be tested.

¹ Bean, E.L, chairperson, 1949, *op. cit*, paras 187, 191, and 194.

The main influence in South Australian education for the next twenty years was not the Bean Committee report, as a crisis in schooling arose from demographic changes bringing a rapid growth in school enrolments. Further pressures were added by fluctuations in the economy which had erstwhile been reasonably stable and predictable. At the same time there was the growing influence of the Federal Government in relation to education and the resourcing of schools, and changes in social and political values within society as the concept of equity emerged as a social issue. These variables were equally real in the 1970s and are considered within the course of this study.

Approaches to schooling during the 1950s and early 1960s were sociological, with the major attention being paid to those functions which schooling, as a social institution, was performing for society. For example, the advent of 'Sputnik' encouraged Federal priority to be given to improving science facilities so that society could take advantage of new technologies, while improved library provisions were seen by the Commonwealth Government as a way of ensuring a more literate populous.

While the South Australian approaches to schooling remained sociological, the Commonwealth Government saw differing purposes for education. The Commonwealth Government was unable to influence curriculum directly for it was constitutionally the province of the States. The Commonwealth overcame this constitutional inhibition by providing finance for specific projects, and by doing so believed it could influence the national product and assist per capita income to grow. The basic assumption appeared to be that as society became more and more technologically advanced, workers needed to be more and more educated, for knowledge could produce wealth.

Theorists across the world (notably Durkheim¹) and researchers of this period focussed on problems of creating equality of opportunity. The Coleman Report² (The Equality of Educational Opportunity Survey) in 1966 in the U.S.A. led to a massive programme of funding based on the re-ordering of priorities. In Australia, the Interim Report of the Australian Schools Commission (1973)³ based a significant programme re-orientation on what could best be seen as an interpretation of equal education as equality of opportunity.

These ideas were picked up in the rhetoric of Director Generals of Education across Australia⁴, who in turn expected Curriculum policy makers within their Departments to adjust their curriculum accordingly. The attention to the functionalism of schooling included a belief that conscious changes (especially economic) could be made to schooling which would work towards a more harmonious or more just society, through redistributing resources to provide access to all children.

Throughout the 1960s and early 1970s, the Commonwealth Government attention to 'equality' remained as a resource focus, rather than a curriculum methodological one, as a means of providing a more equal access. At this time there was a strong faith in the value of education, both as a means of achieving greater equality and of contributing to increased wealth.⁵ The Commonwealth contribution to Education in South Australia

¹ Miller, Pavla, 1986, *Long Division: State Schooling in South Australian Society*, Wakefield Press. pp. 295 - 298.

² Coleman, James et al, 1966, *Equality and Educational Opportunity*, Washington, D.C.; US Dept. of Health Education and Welfare, US Office of Education, OE 38001.

³ Karmel, Peter, H chairperson, 1973, *op. cit.*

⁴ Interview conducted with Steinle, John, R. (Director General of Education in South Australia) 3/11/88, and, Interview conducted with Jones, Alby.W. (Director General of Education in South Australia) 4/10/88.

⁵ Appendix I has statistical tables showing the Commonwealth expenditure increase over this period for this purpose.

during this period exceeded one third of the total education budget in the State of South Australia, despite the lack of constitutional responsibility of the Commonwealth government in educational matters.¹

At a State level, emphasis was on growth and management of a rapidly increasing school population², associated teacher and classroom shortages. Curriculum change remained in the background of this activity.

1.2. Moving into the 1970s

While many of the Bean recommendations failed to be implemented, or were implemented slowly, between 1945 and 1970 school design altered to allow methodologies to be introduced that were more child centred. South Australia piloted for the nation the design and building of 'Open Space' classrooms for first Primary schools, and later Secondary schools. With student numbers increasing in State Schools from 202,636 in 1965 to 232,812 in 1972³, open-space design was seen as a means of providing buildings economically, while providing an educational methodology that by necessity relied more on individual progression than whole class teaching.

Other States watched South Australian building design with interest, particularly as it forced a change of classroom instruction methodology. Parents did not like the noise level, and teachers who valued the privacy of the single classroom soon found ways to partition off the open space and return to traditional methodologies. Open space threatened teachers, as their methodologies and perceived lack of skills were exposed to their colleagues and line managers, causing stress to those who were used to confinement

¹ See Appendices I and J for comparisons of expenditures.

² *South Australian Statistical Register*, (ABS, Adelaide) - see Appendix K, School population statistics.

³ *South Australian Statistical Register*, (ABS, Adelaide) - see Appendix K for details.

in single classrooms. As South Australia pioneered 'open space teaching' there was little expertise available to assist teachers to adapt to changes.

Evidence of teacher dissatisfaction with open space is reflected in the 1975 budget, as many of the larger open spaces were being modified to overcome perceived difficulties of student distraction, teacher incompatibility, and lack of discipline. Partitioning continued on even into the 1980s.

The earlier preoccupation with results in the primary school shifted into the Secondary arena. Even there, the major debate of 'automatic promotion from year level to year level' seemed to dominate over other curriculum matters, while academic courses remained largely unaltered.

Prior to the 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum'¹ which devolved curriculum responsibility to principals in 1970, curriculum was quite rigidly controlled and firmly defined - at least, that was how the teachers saw the situation. They received regular and prescriptive circulars written by a succession of Director Generals' of Education, who had legislative responsibility for curriculum in South Australia. These circulars were supported by curriculum materials and programmes, and pupils proceeded at a speed determined by such handbooks.

Subject choices were suggested, time allotments specified, textbooks prescribed, and the means of student assessment delineated. Freedom and movement were possible, certainly, but only within a narrow and rigid framework.

South Australia, in contrast with the other Australian States, vested the responsibility for school curriculum in the Director-General of Education, and not the

¹ Jones, A. W, 1970, *op. cit.*

Minister of Education. While the Minister of Education was the political head of the Education Department, all authority of the Director General and his officers, except in matters of curriculum, was by delegation from the Minister.¹

Some positive moves were made to establish suitable courses for pupils who were experiencing difficulties with the academic offerings of the South Australian Education Department. In 1968 a 'tracking system' was introduced in South Australia. Each 'track' designated a curriculum design relating to student aptitude or skills. For example, '0' track was designed as a pre-requisite to tertiary education, '1' track for brighter pupils who did not wish to pursue tertiary studies, '2' track for those who wished to develop manual skills, '3' track for life-skills type courses, and '4' track for those with learning disabilities. Assumptions were made that 'bright' pupils were best suited to '0' track - 'less bright' to courses with a high practical component such as '2' track.

Tracking was unique to the Secondary Division, who worked on outlining curriculum for the '0' and '2' tracks (with the assumption that track '4' would become individualized courses established in Special Education Schools), with schools themselves expected to develop the 'odd' options.²

The tracking system became a feature of larger schools, but was given little central support in its development. It was demanding on the human and physical resources of schools, and was flawed in its assumptions about teaching and learning. Indeed, while the original intention had been to provide courses in different tracks, in practice the tendency had become to track students. That is, those seen to have academic ability were persuaded to undertake '0' track options rather than '1' track, and the non-academic child who wanted

¹ Jones, A.W, 1980, *Decentralization in the Central State, An Australia - United States Comparative Study*, Monograph 5, Centre for Study of Higher Education, University of Melbourne, p. 17.

² Minutes of Secondary Division, SA Education Department Archives, 5th April 1979,

to round out his/her education in the final year was counselled to take '2' track, and not '3', thus maximizing student options for future education. While the tracks were meant to define teaching methodologies with all courses being of equal value, in practice they became labels of intelligence levels. In 1975, the Director of Secondary Education forwarded a circular¹ to schools which clearly stated 'Tracking nomenclature and resultant typing of students was to be removed.'

1.3. New era in South Australian education.

The beginning of the 1970s saw a new era in South Australian Education. A change in the State Government in June 1970, and the release in February 1971 of the 'Report of the Committee of Enquiry into Education in South Australia 1969-1970'², (henceforth referred to as the Karmel Report), followed closely by the appointment of the new Director General of Education - Mr A.W. Jones all provided a new stimulus. The 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum'³ issued by the Director General of Education and addressed to Principals of Schools in August 1970, had a significant impact in the course of time on the curricula and teaching methods of the schools in South Australia.

A most relevant section of this memorandum reads as follows.

*Within the broad framework of the Education Act, the general curriculum advised by the curriculum boards and approved by me as Director-General of Education, and the general policy set by the Director of your Division and communicated to you by circular, you have the widest liberty to vary courses, to alter the timetable, to decide the organization of the school and the government within the school, to experiment with teaching methods, assessment of student achievement and in extra-curricular activities.*⁴

¹ Circular 28:75, South Australian Education Department Archives.

² Karmel, Peter, H, chairperson. 1971, *op. cit.*, see Appendix H for the committee composition.

³ Jones, A.W, 1970, *op. cit.*

⁴ Jones, A.W, 1970, *op. cit.*

This memorandum heralded a significant change in curriculum development in the State of South Australia. The focus of an authoritarian centralized approach to curriculum policy development moved to a democratic school based approach. Writing in 1978, Jones¹ described the memorandum as removing barriers to true education by opening up the system to new vistas. Decision making was school based, and recognized the professionalism of teachers. It was seen by Jones as a way of developing collegiality between all members of a school community, as they worked together to develop curriculum.

The Karmel Committee applauded and supported the memorandum², as it allowed teachers greater freedom in choosing the content of subjects in the primary and lower secondary schooling, and the opportunity to organize the school as deemed to be the best for the needs and interests of children.

As a consequence the Karmel Committee focussed its attention on issues such as the structures and functions of the Advisory Curriculum Boards and Curriculum Committees, the Public Examination Board and the role of Research and Planning Branch. It chose to give little attention to the procedures that may be used by the school or a teacher to ensure that what was offered to a student within a school was satisfactory. While the Bean Committee had focussed on the system of instruction, the Karmel Committee challenged the administrative system.

The Karmel Report became the authority on which many of the South Australian curriculum policy changes were based over the next decade, while the Freedom and

¹ Jones, A.W, (1978), *The Influence of the Freedom and Authority Memorandum on Education Policy in South Australia*, University of New England, p 53.

² Karmel, Peter, H, chairperson,. 1971, op. cit, Section 17.42, pp. 475-476,

Authority Memorandum provided the motivating spirit.¹ Changes to the Education Act (1972) in South Australia incorporating School Councils², and separating Colleges of Advanced Education³ from the South Australian Education Department, as well as the Commonwealth Act establishing the Schools Commission (and States Grants Acts) all helped to foster curriculum changes in schools.

While the 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum' impact increased, and the Director General set about implementing the recommendations of the Karmel Report, it became more important for schools to declare their curriculum intent. Hence in 1971 it became necessary to produce a subsequent document entitled 'The Purposes of Schools', to assist Principals in their planning. This document (and a 1975 revision of it) later became the base working document for the formal policy statement 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes'

Teacher shortages of the previous decade continued until almost the mid 1970s. The ten year period commencing in 1965 was characterized by a high rate of population growth based on natural increase, and migration from overseas, accompanied by sustained economic growth.

The situation was not unique to South Australia. In this period, the Australian population grew from 11.5 million to almost 14 million, stimulating urban development, rapid economic growth and an increasing gross national product - hence a high demand for labour and low rates of unemployment.⁴

¹ Jones, A.W, 1978, op. cit. p. 1.

² School Councils were established as advisory bodies to the school Principal, and were expected to provide the considered view of the school community.

³ Colleges of Advanced Education provided courses of instruction for tertiary students, where University degrees were not required.

⁴ Australian Year Book - 1965, Australian Bureau of Statistics.
Australian Year Book - 1975, Australian Bureau of Statistics.

In South Australia, there was confidence in education as public opinion reflected on the good economic and employment situation¹. Further, the Interim Committee for the Schools Commission at a National level reiterated the egalitarian purposes of education outlined by the Karmel Report in South Australia. Within this favourable climate the Director General and Labor Government in South Australia pushed ahead with recommendations.

The Bean Committee had emphasized the pre-eminence of *educational values* in determining teaching method and school organization, and it turned to psychology for the operational principles. In contrast, Karmel reported at the height of an economic boom, when society believed that massive funds could be allocated to education, based on policies inspired by *sociological insights*.² While the Bean Committee had attacked the system of instruction, the Karmel Committee attacked the administrative system.

The Karmel Committee of enquiry was heavily influenced by popular sociological theory, and many of the ideas it expressed had emerged from the American Reform Movement³ which got under-way around 1958, and had been developing over the decade. The Karmel Report, like the social reformers, advocated that schools work towards the development of a better society.⁴

No educational system stands apart from the society which establishes it. It has purposes that must be achieved if that society is to continue. It is embedded in that society, drawing nourishment from it and in turn contributing to its growth and renewal. The establishment of the purposes of its educational institutions, and a

¹ Beswick, D, & Harman, G, 1984, *Australia*, in Hough, J.R, Ed, 1984, *Educational Policy: An International Survey*, Croom-Helm, p. 39.

² Grundy, D, 1982, in Power, Colin, ed, 1982, *op. cit*, p. 11.

³ Interview with principal Author of the Karmel Report, Ms Jean Blackburn, 2/11/88. (This idea was also expressed by Roy Smallacombe and John Steinle during interview).

⁴ Karmel, Peter, H, chairperson, 1971, *op. cit*, section 3.1, p. 25,

constant vigil over both their relevance and their realization, ought to be one of the major continuing activities of a society concerned with the present well-being of all its members and with its own steady improvement.¹

While the Bean Committee had been influenced by psychometric studies of children's mental abilities, the Karmel Report referred to the 'multitude of variables between children'. The Karmel Report not only concentrated on mental ability, but variables which arose from gender, socio-economic factors, family background, ethnicity, and geographical factors.²

The Karmel Report explained that an education system 'has purposes that must be achieved if that society is to continue'³. The Committee therefore decided to 'consider first the social context in which the schools operate and the purposes that arise from that context', then to discuss 'purposes as they concern the individual'⁴, leading to an analysis of 'some implications of social context and purposes for organisation, curricula and methods'⁵. The basic question Karmel attempted to answer, was 'what function were South Australian schools expected to fulfil?'⁶ This question became a review question⁷ and it recommended that the Advisory Council of Education (when formed) concern itself with purposes, curriculum, and methods⁸. The Advisory Council was never formed, but some attempt at the definition of purposes was attempted.

¹ loc cit.

² Grundy, D, 1982, in Power, Colin, ed, 1982, op. cit, p 8.

³ Karmel, Peter, H, chairperson, 1971, op. cit, section 3.1

⁴ Karmel, Peter, H, chairperson, 1971, op. cit, section 3.8

⁵ Karmel, Peter, H, chairperson, 1971, op. cit, section 3.24.

⁶ Karmel, Peter, H, chairperson, 1971, op. cit, sections 3.1; 3.8; 3.24.

⁷ Karmel, Peter, H, chairperson, 1971, op. cit, section 18.52

⁸ Karmel, Peter, H, chairperson, 1971, op. cit, section 17.29

From 1965 until 1977 the Commonwealth stimulated some curriculum growth by making funds available for innovations grants, science laboratories, libraries, as well as per capita grants to schools. Schools became larger and more complex, posing considerable strain on the administrative machinery of the South Australian Education Department. Thus 'head office' became 'restructured'. Within a decade, between 1969 and 1978, the South Australian Education Department had been regionalized. The ten regions, four metropolitan and six country, were gradually provided with more staff and took on many of the functions and responsibilities that had previously resided in the central office. In addition, they moved into new areas, such as the support of school based curriculum development. Prior to 1970 there had been one region only, established as an administrative trial at Whyalla to serve some of the remote schools on the Eyre Peninsula of the South Australia.

Central office also restructured its operations regrouping the functions of its 'Divisions' (Primary, Secondary, Technical, and Teachers Colleges) along 'functional lines'. That which the Education Department called its 'corporate structure' now contained a group of four directorates dealing with school services, educational facilities, personnel, and research and planning, and a group of eleven regions responsible for schools. In addition to the regions, a directorate was formed dealing with curriculum, whose main function was the development of policy and programmes.

1.4. From economic and educational growth to decline.

By 1975 the trends of growing student numbers, a buoyant economy, and low levels of unemployment, which had operated consistently for a long period of time changed relatively sharply for most sectors of the education system. Since that time the South Australian Education Department has been forced to cope with declining pupil numbers, fluctuating economic conditions, and the varying economic policy of government.

The high level of spending of the latter years of the Whitlam (Federal) Labor Government¹ changed to policies of restraint and rationalization. G. Harman (1984) provides some reasons for the restraints within the quotation below.

The education reforms of the Whitlam years were made possible by the growing climate of public opinion strongly in support of education that developed through the 1960s and the early 1970s. This was a time of strong faith in the value of education, both as a means of achieving greater equality and of contributing to increased wealth. Thus, strong demands were made for increased funds to be allocated to education activities and for deliberate attempts to be made to increase the range of education facilities, to widen access and to improve the quality of the education offered. As a consequence, both socially and politically, education became prominent, perhaps even a dominant, public issue during that period.

But by the last year of the Whitlam Government, as the first effects of the international recession and rising unemployment came to be felt, the public mood changed quickly and it was the Whitlam Government rather than the Fraser Administration which began the period of budgetary restraint and contraction for education. From this followed a long period, when education was constantly under attack²

The Fraser (Liberal) Government³ which followed sought generally to favour non-government schools, and demanded a curriculum emphasis that related more closely to economic development priorities, especially Technology and Business Studies⁴.

While the major influence of the Federal Government under Whitlam had been in the provision of capital expenditure to upgrade facilities based on a needs assessment, their reduced activity under Fraser immediately placed pressure on state systems to find

¹ Federal Labor Government 1972 - 1975, led by Gough Whitlam.

² Beswick, D, & Harman, G, 1984 *Australia*, in Hough, J.R, ed, 1984, *op.cit*, p. 39

³ Federal Liberal Government 1975 - 1983, led by Malcolm Fraser.

⁴ *loc. cit.*

resources to maintain the developments. States too were feeling the effects of the recession which developed around the time of Federal Government changes.

As a result of economic downturn and the decline in student numbers, the shortage of teachers became a surplus in the mid 1970s. In South Australia, the autonomous Colleges of Advanced Education were forced to amalgamate and rationalize to survive, for while the Colleges were producing about 3000 trained teachers per annum, there were less than three hundred jobs available for permanent appointees in 1976.¹

Teachers have for the past year or more been sniffing both the demographic breeze, and the odours arising from the national economic stew. As a result, the normal resignation and wastage rate has dropped from about 12.5% to about 7% per year.²

The level of demand remained low, and the attrition rate of teachers dropped to 4.2% in 1978³, as permanent teaching appointments were no longer automatic for trained graduates wanting to return to employment in the shrinking South Australian system.

Towards the end of the 1970s teachers in schools were asking for greater direction and leadership in the work of curriculum planning. Both the Primary Principals Association and its secondary counterpart formed committees prepared to work with the Education Department divisions to develop a structure for school use.

A general unease developed about the effectiveness of schools as employment patterns began to change. The Commonwealth Government abandoned its social policy

¹ Director General of Education's annual report to the Minister of Education, 1976.

² *Canberra Times*, 1977, *The Winds of Change are Blowing Chill*, an article on South Australian Education and its future following the retirement of A.W. Jones as Director General of Education, 14th Feb,

³ Director General of Education's Annual Report to the Minister of Education, 1978.

platform of 'full employment for all', and with new technologies being given emphasis by the Commonwealth and State Governments different pressures were placed on schools.

Problems had begun to emerge as a direct consequence of the 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum' issued in 1970 by the then new Director General of Education, A.W. Jones, and from the attempts to implement the proposals of the Karmel Committee of Enquiry in 1971.¹ By the mid 1970s the media had rejuvenated the debate² about a 'decline in educational standards' and the 'need for core curriculum', and schools were often blamed for not meeting the new demands associated with unemployment, recession, and new technology. While these criticisms do not appear to have their origin in any policies or practices associated with the system of education in South Australia, they were nevertheless directed towards the policies and practices operating within the state.

1.5. Moving into the 1980s

During 1977, all 57 South Australian secondary schools were surveyed by two members of the Secondary Principals Association in conjunction with the Superintendent of Secondary Curriculum, in relation to a number of educational matters³. While there was little agreement on a number of issues including the very purposes of schooling, there was apparent unanimity that there was a need for a common core of subjects and experiences in junior secondary stages of schooling. While the concept of core was accepted, there was much less agreement as to what constituted the core. Two (part time) curriculum writers were employed and a steering committee was formed to rewrite 'The Purposes of Schools' document in terms of 'core curriculum'.

¹ Karmel, Peter, H, chairperson, 1971, *op. cit.*

² The *Advertiser*, during 1976-77 contained 17 letters to the editor implying that schools should give greater attention to standards, and to the 3 R's.

³ The intent was to develop a curriculum framework for Secondary school based curriculum developments, as a follow up to 'The Schools Curriculum 1', 1976, document, *op. cit.*

The steering committee¹ examined a number of recent models, including those used in Tasmania, Britain, Scotland, British Columbia, Ontario, and models put forward by individuals. E. Davis of the Curriculum Development Centre in Canberra influenced directions significantly.²

The committee failed to adequately define a body of learning experiences necessarily common to all students at a particular phase of schooling, and eventually proceeded to provide a curriculum framework that would support the 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum', while protecting the authority of the Director General of Education to exercise his Curriculum responsibilities.

Schools themselves expressed the view that school based planning and development could not be made effective because teachers and schools had neither the time, resources, nor expertise to undertake what they saw to be a difficult and time consuming task. Professor J.P. Keeves was invited to chair a committee of enquiry into education in South Australia³. In the 1982 report of the committee (henceforth referred to as the Keeves Report) the constraints on schools were noted. He also recorded that at the time South Australia appeared to have within the S.A. Education Department a very sizeable Curriculum Directorate (a point of concern to a very vocal Public Accounts Committee⁴) to help in the provision of appropriate curricula in schools. The Keeves Report noted that sufficient advice and leadership did not appear to be forthcoming from this source.⁵

¹ Membership of this committee is charted in chapter 6, diagram 6.1

² Aston, R. & Wiseman, M, 1978, Report to the Central Coordinating Committee (1978), Superintendent of Curriculum, Mr M. Strange, Education Department of South Australia, 8th Oct.

³ see Appendix H for full committee membership.

⁴ interview information from M. O'Brien (Director of Curriculum) 1/3/88.

⁵ Keeves, J.P. chairman, 1982, op. cit. pp. 28 - 29

In the late 1970s and early 1980s the leadership and materials provided by the Curriculum Directorate was provided through an extensive network of advisory staff, working from central and regional offices, as well as from special units established within the Curriculum Directorate.

The Keeves' Committee concluded in January 1982 that

....complete freedom and authority for schools to develop their own curricula is unlikely to be feasible in any education system, given the impossibility of providing all schools with the resources and expertise required for this to be fully effective. The committee thus advocates strong leadership and guidance for schools from both the central administration and regional offices in curriculum matters.¹

The Keeves Report failed to have the same impact as its predecessor, the Karmel Report of 1971.

The Karmel Report had introduced a functional analysis of education in trying to enhance the professional freedom and authority of teachers and the responsiveness of schools to reformist social policies.² The Keeves Report took the functional emphasis of the Karmel enquiry as the grounds for reducing teacher autonomy so that schools might respond more efficiently to the economic needs of a technological society. All but one of the Karmel recommendations were implemented in some form over a period of four years, while many of the Keeves recommendations were ignored by the South Australian Government and the South Australian Education Department.

During 1981, two significant curriculum policy documents had been launched. Firstly, the Commonwealth Curriculum Development Centre in Canberra released a

¹ *ibid*, p. 28.

² Grundy, D, 1982, in Power, Colin, editor, 1982, *op. cit*, p 13.

statement on 'Core Curriculum for Australian Schools'¹. The Development Centre consulted widely in the development of this statement².

In South Australia, several months later, 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' was published by the South Australian Education Department. This document was the culmination of a very extensive and cooperative enterprise with schools and their communities which had commenced in 1978. It was similar in intent to the Commonwealth Curriculum Development Centre paper, and was a charter to assist schools in the task of school based curriculum development.

Both documents were compromise documents, as society has a very wide range of opinions relating to schooling, and many interested parties contributed to their formation. 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and their Purposes' was more straight forward and more specific than the Commonwealth Curriculum Development Centre document, and hence it was expected to be of significant value in assisting South Australian educators in developing their curriculum plans.

The Commonwealth document aimed at addressing the concern that general aims statements and curriculum guide-lines had widely replaced prescribed syllabuses (except for where University examinations remained). The Curriculum Development Centre asserted that a plethora of courses and teaching methods had reduced attention to traditional learning as an outcome of the multiplicity of new societal demands.³ They took the stand that,

¹ **Core Curriculum for Australian Schools: What it is and Why it is Needed.** 1980, Curriculum Development Centre, Canberra, June.

² **ibid**, p 4. 'Introduction'.

³ **ibid**, p 12.

A commitment, by schools, to core curriculum is a commitment to a view about what is fundamental in every child's learning, what is reasonable to be responsive to amongst the wide range of demands and requirements from outside the school, and what teaching and material resources are needed if schools are to do their work adequately.¹

Thus the document went on to describe nine areas of knowledge and experience considered as essential to all schooling.

The South Australian Education Department document addressed similar concerns with a different approach. It defined eight areas of study and used these as parameters for learning, leaving considerable freedom with the schools to develop curriculum within these parameters.

'Into the 80s - Our Schools and their Purposes', in its attempt to satisfy all interested stakeholders through a wide consultative process, became so general that an individual school or teacher could justify the choice of almost any aspect of curriculum policy or practice.

When the 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' document was first circulated, it was expected that a more specific paper on curriculum authority and approval would quickly follow, as well as a number of resource papers planned to support the policy.

The 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' document of 1981 endeavoured to focus on more than curriculum content and intellectual development. It moved towards a broader interpretation of personal development, to emphasize more strongly the social responsibilities of people living together in communities. The method

¹ loc. cit.

to do this was to identify four priorities, encouraging schools to adapt curricula within the local context with these four priorities in mind. The four stated priorities were,

- literacy and numeracy skills,
- communication skills,
- problem solving skills,
- and skills for social living.

The intent had been to provide schools with amplified resource papers on each of the declared priorities to guide schools in their planning.

The first resource paper on 'Communication Skills' was published in 1982, but 'Problem Solving Skills' and 'Literacy and Numeracy' did not become available until 1983, while the final and most controversial paper on 'Social Learning' was not available until late 1986. Thus the full implications of the 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' document were still emerging five years after the production of the parent document.

The emphasis and energy of the South Australian Education Department in the four years that followed 1981 focussed more on reorganization of the administration sector, than the development of approved curriculum. The South Australian Education Department reduced the ten Regions established over the past decade to five Areas, while at the same time moving many of the centralized functions to the devolved administrative centres in Areas. Some new administrative positions were created, while others were absorbed or lost. This demanded considerable personal and emotional energy in planning, organizing, and restructuring, particularly as many senior officers had to be sensitively relocated.

This process of reorganizing Departmental structures was evolutionary in nature and it still remained incomplete as at October 1990.

The uncertainty of this period was very clear to the author as a participant observer, and was re-confirmed in interviews conducted with senior departmental officers as part of this study methodology. To illustrate this instability of management structures the author cites his own experiences. The author's appointment as an acting Director for a period of three months, was extended month by month for a period exceeding five years, as the Education Department continued to decentralize some functions while recentralizing others. Curriculum policies promised to schools could not be developed until it became clear who had that responsibility.

The very nature of the Departmental restructure had made it difficult (if not impossible) to produce a policy document that clearly articulated the organizational and functional framework for curriculum development. The first two sections were planned to deal with the legal responsibilities, and the roles of and relationships between the different sections of the South Australian Education Department with respect to the curriculum development process. The third and final section was to deal with a specific part of this responsibility concerned with the curriculum approval process as it related to schools.

Delays in the production of the document led to its document issue through senior officers to schools in draft form mid 1985.

When the final document¹ was released, it addressed the curriculum development process in three sections as planned, but failed to give the detailed structure that schools had hoped to receive when they first sought a framework as early as 1975.

¹ Into the 80s - Curriculum Authority and Responsibility: a Policy Statement for Government Schools, 1985, op. cit, p. 3.

The document was called 'Into the 80s - Curriculum Authority and Responsibility' (1985). It outlined how aims and objectives were to be met with regard to the responsibility for curriculum, how schools were to be supported in the discharge of that responsibility, and how a school's curriculum would be approved.

1.6. On reflection.

The preceding text has endeavoured to give a chronological perspective of curriculum policy activity between 1945 and 1985, to provide a descriptive time frame for readers of this study. This background data has been the basis of the hypothesis established about the development of South Australian curriculum policies explored in this study from 1968 until 1985. From this chronological base line, questions emerged about the very purposes of schooling, and which values were being advanced; the influence of funding and the constitutional relationship between the South Australian State Government and the Commonwealth Government; the political, economic, and social contexts in which curriculum developments took place; the dichotomy between centralized curriculum developments and school based opportunities; and the interaction between individuals who were in a position to determine curriculum directions.

The descriptive time frame to curriculum policy developments provided in this chapter provides background information as this study examines more closely the variables influencing curriculum policies.

Chapter Two:

Reviewing the Literature Relating to Curriculum Policy Processes.

In undertaking a detailed analysis of the forces and processes shaping curriculum policies developed in South Australia between 1968 and 1985, a number of issues emerged that had a direct bearing on the study methodology and research questions.

To understand the development of curriculum policies, it is fundamental to have an understanding of the purposes of schools which direct such policies and the forces in play that shape policy directions. It is also desirable to understand contextual issues and the interplay of policy actors, for if policy outcomes are to be understood, it is necessary to interpret the internal and external politics of policy development. Insights about curriculum policy frameworks are developed are also possible through exploration of the matches and mismatches between theoretical models and empirical data, and through comparisons with the development of public policies.

These ideas have been canvassed in the available literature, and the key points as they relate to this study are recorded in this chapter. These are necessarily piecemeal, for while numerous authors have recorded their beliefs on the purposes of schools (that in turn direct curriculum policies), there has been very little written on the processes of system wide curriculum policy development. To fill this literature void, it has been assumed that many of the general principles relating to public policy development can be applied to the curriculum policy area, and in a similar way general principles of policy analysis can be applied to curriculum policy analysis. Indeed, this study has relied on 'tried and proven' public policy methods in the research process, and the literature relating to public policy, to give structure to the findings established through this study.

Thus this literature review is limited to those key ideas that can be used as a means to develop approaches to analysis in the study methodology. There is a strong reliance on

Evetts (1973)¹ for an overview of philosophies relating to the purposes of schooling, Boyd (1978)² on the political issues arising from the context, Lasswell (1951)³ and Lindblom (1959)⁴ for an understanding of the public policy processes, Majchrzak (1984)⁵ for the policy research methodology and technical analysis approaches, and Hogwood and Gunn (1984)⁶ for focussing the policy analysis. Other ideas are referred to in discussing study findings, but the key concepts are embodied in the writings of the above authors.

2.1. The Political Context and Pervading Philosophies.

Boyd (1978)⁷, examines 'The Changing Politics of Curriculum Policy-Making for American Schools.' A number of issues and outcomes contained in this article have particular relevance in any analysis of South Australian curriculum development during the period of study.

1 **Evetts, Julie, 1973, *The Sociology of Educational Ideas*, Routledge and Keegan Paul Ltd..**

2 **Boyd, William L, 1978, *The Changing Politics of Curriculum Policy Making for American Schools* in the *Review of Educational Research*, American Educational Research Association, Vol 48, No 4, pp 577-628, Fall, and**

Boyd, William L, 1983, *Rethinking Educational Policy and Management: Political Science and Educational Administration in the 1980s* in the *American Journal of Education*, University of Chicago Press, Volume 92, No 1, pp. 1-19, November 1983,

3 **Lasswell, H, 1951, *The Policy Orientation*, in Lerner, D. & Lasswell, H. ed, 1970, *The Policy Sciences*, Stanford University Press, Stanford.**

4 **Lindblom, C.E, 1959, *The Science of "Muddling Through"*, in the *Public Administration Review*, American Society of Public Administration, Washington, no. 19, pp. 79-83, and**

Lindblom. C.E, & Braybrooke, D, 1963, *A Strategy of Decision Making*, New York, Free Press, p 78.

5 **Majchrzak, Ann, 1984, *op. cit.***

6 **Hogwood, B.W. & Gunn, L.A, 1984, *Policy Analysis for the Real World*, Oxford University Press.**

7 **Boyd, William L, 1978, *op. cit*, pp. 577-628,**

His article begins by addressing the age old tension between ideas relating to the purposes of schooling. That is, 'are schools agents to preserve our culture, or are they agents that are expected to change it?' In this sense, the very nature of curriculum policy making is political, for political science focuses on 'who gets what, when, and how'.¹ Boyd contends that an education system, and ultimately curriculum policies, always proceed from some model of what a human being (and hence society) ought to be like.

Thus, as a preliminary to this study and the interviews conducted with actors involved in policy development, a literature search was conducted establishing the varying contemporary beliefs about purposes of schooling before exploring statements that indicated which of these were considered important in the South Australian context.

The following summary of key beliefs found in literature follows a structure developed by Evetts (1973)² in her *The Sociology of Educational Ideas*. Incorporated in the summary are ideologies as outlined by Levitas (1974)³, Young (1971)⁴, Blum (1971)⁵, Reed (1978)⁶, Marsh (1986)⁷, and Boyd (1978)⁸ (Boyd's ideas relating to ideologies are further reviewed later in this chapter).

¹ *ibid*, (Boyd quotes Laswell's (1936) succinct statement of the focus of political science), p. 578.

² **Evetts, Julie**, 1973, *The Sociology of Educational Ideas*, Routledge and Keegan Paul Ltd.

³ **Levitas, Maurice**, 1974, *Marxist Perspectives in the Sociology of Education*, Routledge and Keegan Paul Ltd.,

⁴ **Young, Michael, D**, ed, 1971, *Knowledge and Control: New Directions for the Sociology of Education*, Collier and MacMillan, (note particularly Alan F Blum - "Social Definitions of Knowledge" pp. 117-131; Michael D Young, pp. 8-37.)

⁵ **Blum, Alan F.** 1971, *Social Definitions of Knowledge*, in *Knowledge and Control: New Directions for the Sociology of Education*, editor, 1974, **Young, Michael, D**, Collier & MacMillan, London, pp. 117-131,

⁶ **Reed, Ivan**, 1978, *Sociological Perspectives on Education*, Books Publishing Ltd, London.

⁷ **Marsh, Colin**, 1986, *Curriculum, An Analytical Introduction*, Ian Novak Publishing Co, Sydney.

⁸ **Boyd, William L**, 1978, *op. cit*, pp. 577-628.

Evetts suggests that there appear to be two distinct and contrasting approaches to education (as recorded about its 'purposes' in literature). They are the 'Idealist' and the 'Progressive' approaches.

2.1.1. Idealist Characteristics include some of the following beliefs.

- the purposes of education are to equip pupils with essential skills such as reading, spelling, and arithmetic.¹

- it is important to discipline children in certain sophisticated intellectual achievements, to mould their characters to a desirable shape, and so instil respect for learning or scholarship (that is, education is character training).²

- children are taught to be adults and to respect and adopt adult values.³

- teaching methods will aim to encourage identification by children with educated leaders.⁴

- education is expected to remain a stalwart of culture, quality, and excellence. Scholarship and learning should command the highest respect.⁵

- the main function of education is the passing on to each new generation of the best of the established and growing culture of their fathers.⁶

1 Evetts, Julie, 1973, op. cit, p. 9.

2 loc. cit.

3 loc. cit.

4 ibid, pp. 9 - 10.

5 loc. cit.

6 loc. cit.

2.1.2. Progressive Characteristics include some of the following beliefs.

- the main function of education is the training of the young for the new culture of the future. The aim of education is the growth and development of individual potentialities.¹

- teaching must be child centred (as expounded by Pestalozzi, Dewey, and Rousseau) rather than subject centred, and based on the needs and interests of children.²

- methods are only educative if they involve learning from experience rather than the child being told things, and if the child discovers rather than merely listens.³

In summary, 'Education for life', 'child centred education', 'the integrated curriculum', are all progressive beliefs, just as 'academic excellence' and 'the maintenance of standards' are idealist aims.

Alongside these contrasting major beliefs are a number of significant emphases or differing foci amongst actors and groups that influence the curriculum balance. Some of the more significant and often competing influences of the past recorded in literature are listed below.

- the role of the education system is to maintain general stability in society by teaching respect for culture learning and achievement, such that the new generation will take over and fill the occupational and social positions necessary for the continuation of society (that is, hierarchies of position, prestige and wealth remain unchanged).⁴

¹ **ibid, p. 10.**

² **loc. cit.**

³ **loc. cit.**

⁴ **Young, M, 1958, The Rise of the Meritocracy, London: Thames and Hudson, pp. 9 - 190.**

- in contrast - education systems should break down status crystallization, and hasten social and political change.¹

- education is seen as a process of personal development, which includes social skills training.²

- education is seen as the means of promoting specific political and social goals (for example, equity, multi-culturalism, social cohesion).³

- education is seen as bound up in economics - the economy financing education and the education producing manpower recruits for the economy. Hence a major purpose of education must be the maintenance of the economy through training for employment (efficiency replaces social justice as the criteria for judging the effectiveness of education).⁴

- education is a consumer item and is therefore responsive to consumer demand.⁵

- education is a social service with governments or bureaucrats deciding on what the consumer needs ('experts' set curriculum based on what they see as good for the consumer).⁶

¹ Evetts, Julie, 1973, *op cit*, pp. 154-155.

² Berger, P. & Luckman, T, 1967, *The Social Construction of Reality*, London: Allen Lane, The Penguin Press, Introduction, chptr 1.

³ Evetts, Julie, 1973, *op cit*, pp. 55-71.

⁴ Vaizey, J. & Robinson, E.A.G, Eds, 1966, *The Economics of Education*, London: Macmillan, pp. 89 - 348.

⁵ Lauwerys, J.A, ed, 1969, *Education and the Economy*, London: Evans, (full text).

⁶ *ibid*.

• education's main purpose is the progressive improvement of society (the social theories of Durkheim and Mannheim fall into this category).¹

Changing power relationships between competing ideologies (the politics of 'who gets what, when, and how') account for many of the curriculum policy changes, or actual curriculum changes. These key ideas from the literature search were used as a basis for planning the many questions relating to beliefs, used initially in interviewing actors in the policy processes from the commencement of the period under study (1968).

'Idealism' and 'progressivism' are opposite poles of a continuum, and while for policy analysis purposes the competing ideologies have been recorded separately, it is possible for policy actors to hold a range of beliefs across that continuum. A policy actor may desire a child centred system (progressive), for example, and also want the production of academic excellence (idealism) in such a system. The philosophies may operate contiguously or in isolation from one another, and are malleable, rather than static.

Thus, in addition to the literature search, some preliminary research of the public debate in South Australia was undertaken to identify the key philosophies of the study period. This was done by looking at the nature of views expressed in newspapers, public enquiries, and annual reports of the Director General from 1968 until 1985. At least the following ideologies were noted, all of which competed in directing the purposes of schools of South Australian schools, and hence school curriculum.

¹ Durkheim, E, 1956, *Education and Society*, Chicago: Free Press, chptrs 1 -8, and Mannheim, Karl, 1957, *Freedom, Power, and Democratic Planning*, London: Routledge and Keegan Paul, and

Young, Michael, D, ed, 1971, *Knowledge and Control: New Directions for the Sociology of Education*, Collier and MacMillan, p. 31, pp. 117 - 131.

- The belief that all students should receive a broad liberal education which will make more intelligible the world in which children are growing up, and which will prepare them for future learning and participation in that world.¹

- The belief that education should focus on acquainting pupils with the best that had been thought, said, or written. From knowledge comes appreciation of that which is good.²

- The belief that education is about maintaining social cohesion, equitable distribution of wealth, and addressing disadvantage. It would thus aim at the improvement of human kind, and would be value laden with social objectives³

- The belief that education can assist in the national purpose of economic prosperity for Australia through the provision of a skilled work-force.⁴ A focus on science and technology was seen to be the key to prosperity and development in South Australia during the 1970s and early 1980s (see the Keeves report)⁵ which is

¹ Hyams, Bernard, et al, 1988, *Learning and Other Things: Sources of Social History of Education in South Australia*, South Australian Government Printer, pp. 351-425.

Advertiser, 1972, *Public Policy in Education - a Modest Proposal*, Adelaide Advertiser Press, 5th June.

² *Advertiser*, 1973, *Public Examinations Needed?* (Editorial), Adelaide Advertiser Press, 25th August,

³ Keeves, J.P. chairman, 1982, *op. cit*, pp. 35-36, and

Karmel, Peter H, 1987, *In the National Interest*, Commonwealth Schools Commission, Gvt Printer, Chptr iv.

Karmel, Peter, H, chairperson, 1971, *op. cit*, pp. 27-30.

⁴ Adelaide *Advertiser* 18/1/80 - Senator Messner's letter to the Editor, recommending that schooling be tightly related to future employment, and the *Advertiser* 23/1/88 - further letters to the Editor on the matter.

⁵ Keeves, J.P. chairman, 1982, *op. cit*, pp 34 - 35.

consistent with the belief that education should lead to higher productivity and greater national competitiveness (wealth).

- The belief that education is aimed at preparing young people for the work-force by focussing across a range of interests and skills and providing a sound information base about the world of work (that is, schooling is primarily instrumental). For most proponents, this meant a highly structured core curriculum, and the development of work related skills (that is, a practical preparation for earning a living within a general education).¹

The range of beliefs about the purposes of education established through the literature, and supported in the preliminary investigation of the South Australian context, were wide-ranging in the South Australian education system, and posed the question of the value systems of key stakeholders, and their influence on policy development. This issue is built into the methodological processes outlined in chapter three. This study needed to look at the beliefs of those who shaped curriculum policies, and whether those beliefs were transmitted through policies..

Boyd² highlights that on the critical issues of philosophy, there were consistent beliefs that the professional educators should shape curriculum policy making. This belief has been countered more recently by changing ideas associated with social changes. In America there have been two main solutions to these differing ideas, both which seem to have lost effectiveness - (a) the principle of local control of education, as opposed to what Tyack³ described as (b) the 'one best system of education'.

¹ Speedy, Graeme, 1982, *The Limits of Curriculum; Reflections on Keeves and Into The 80s*, in *Pivot*, Vol 9, No 5, P 24.

² Boyd, William L, 1978, *op. cit.*, pp. 577 - 628.

³ Tyack, D, 1974, *The One Best System*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Boyd (1978)¹, notes that the effectiveness of the local control principle has been weakened by 'the remarkable recent growth of the influence of the state and national agencies over the curriculum.' Secondly, the doctrine itself suggesting the professional educators should shape curriculum was seen to be inadequate in an increasingly urbanized and pluralistic society. With the forces of pluralism, animated by the clash of local and 'sacred' values with cosmopolitan and 'secular' values being advocated, and sometimes imposed from the state and national levels, Boyd asserts that

the 'constitutional convention' on the purposes and curriculum of the public schools continues in earnest, but without the advantages of the common forum and realities of a real convention².

He deduces that there is a need to focus on the political problems created for curriculum policy makers by the simultaneous need for the school to maintain society, while responding to pressures for societal change. This literature discussion on the politics of professional reformers as opposed to the wishes of society, and the role of the school in society thus became one study focus.

A more recent article by Boyd (1989)³, looks at the need to balance control of curriculum by bureaucrats with the autonomy offered to work sites to develop their own curriculum. He argues that neither the entirely professionalised nor the entirely bureaucratized model is workable or desirable, suggesting that we should develop management structures that safeguard political needs, while moving towards greater professionalism of curriculum reform.

¹ Boyd, William, L, 1978, op.cit, p. 579.

² ibid, p. 581.

³ Boyd, William, L, 1989, Balancing Competing Values in School Reform: The Politics of Perestroika, in Chapman, J, & Dunstan, J, eds, 1989, Democracy and Bureaucracy; Tensions in Australian Government Schooling, Australian College of Education.

Kirst and Walker (1971)¹ note that national political tensions, generally arising from change, inevitably seem to make themselves felt in curriculum policy debates. Their belief is that the resulting curriculum policy making, rather than being characterized by dramatic policy-making, or by the often prescribed but seldom realized model of *rational* decision making, generally is characterized by the modest and mundane strategy of disjointed *incrementalism*. They describe this process as an acceptance of the broad outlines of the existing situation with only marginal changes contemplated; a consideration of a restricted variety of policy alternatives; an adjustment of objectives to policies; a willingness to formulate data as it becomes available; and serial analysis and piecemeal alterations rather than a single comprehensive attack at the policy problem.

Elboim-Dror (1970) provides a conventional view, based on a belief that the curriculum decision making processes are based on incremental change. However, she acknowledges that crisis may well truncate such processes. *'Decision making can thus be described as a tradition bound, slow sequence of incremental changes with sudden inspirational jumps when a crisis arises.'*² She continues by saying that *'Incremental decision-making seems to be a common pattern in most organizations, but in education it is dominant.'*

Elboim-Dror attributes the tendency towards incrementalism in educational policy making to the fact that public schools have to serve multiple and often conflicting goals in society. The school is expected to both maintain society as well as be an engine of progress and reform. As goals proliferate and compete for scarce resources, incremental policy making becomes increasingly likely.

¹ Kirst, M.F, & Walker, D.F, 1971, An analysis of Curriculum Policy Making, *Review of Educational Research*, vol. 41, no. 5, p. 240.

² Elboim - Dror, R, 1970, The Characteristics of the Education Policy Formation System, *Policy Sciences* 1, pp. 231-253.

Kirst and Walker (1971) believe that the more innovative policies occur at a time of crisis, and they believe therefore that the key curriculum politics we need to understand are those surrounding crisis. Boyd (1978)¹ concludes that we ought to look beyond crisis policy making, for to focus on this may be to be misled. His argument is based on the historical evidence around the evolution and response of the policy making system in the face of pressures for societal change and maintenance.

Moynihan (1978)² suggests also that 'crisis' is not always the 'mother of invention', and that non-incremental change can and does occur when professionals realize that existing policies are failing, and that 'marginal changes, and 'tireless tinkering' will not do'. He suggests that we should not dismiss the professionalism of reform. He highlights that many changes occur through initiatives undertaken by persons whose profession was to do just that. Hence the increasing number of enquiries and reviews in education, when change is seen as desirable by someone or some group in a position of influence. The degree to which enquiries and reviews did influence curriculum policies in South Australia became an important consideration within this study.

Boyd (1978) highlights that even given the 'professionalism of reform', there are still a number of constraints upon policy innovation that inhibit change, or even the consideration of alternatives. Schools and systems are likely to adopt innovative policies that promote bureaucratic and social stability, and be less inclined to adopt policies of 'efficiency' or 'radical change'. Boyd highlights that non-decision making and the 'mobilization of bias'³, by keeping potential issues and alternatives from being discussed, are formidable barriers to change. Conflict avoidance, especially where there are strong

¹ Boyd, William, L, 1978, op.cit,

² Moynihan, D.P, 1978, *The Politics of a Guaranteed Income*, New York, Random House as in Boyd, W.L, 1978, *Changing Politics of Curriculum Policy Making for American Schools*, in *Review of Educational Research*, p. 545.

³ Boyd, William L, 1978, op. cit, pp. 577 - 628.

values in a particular community, also makes policy makers reluctant to incur the psychic costs and risks of innovations. Even with all these barriers overcome, only government can bring into play the resources to implement any innovation (at least in American Education). Boyd's conclusions about constraints that inhibit changes (despite policy development) are tested in the South Australian setting as part of this study.

Boyd, in his article on curriculum policy making¹, makes a number of further salient observations related to curriculum policy making. He noted that all accepted curriculum policies advantage certain groups more than others, hence partisan interest groups will emerge to protect or advance their particular interests. They may be professional associations, industrial groups, parent groups, or hybrid organizations, and they will politicize established processes. Professional groups usually provide most of the expertise and organizational resources needed for successful campaigns to change the curriculum. This aspect of the policy process was central to this study.

Boyd² notes that *'because of the free rider problem, and because curriculum still seems to have little salience as an issue for most citizens and parents, the current politicisation of curriculum policy-making essentially appears to be a contest among special interest groups.'* Amongst these he highlights the burgeoning teachers unions (in America) which appear to have a remarkable influence at the State and Federal levels, and highlights the signs that suggest that their influence is likely to increase. He speculates that if teachers, through their unions, could be influential with legislators, it was obvious that they could bring influence via the legislation upon the bureaucrats in the executive branches at State and Federal levels. This generalization was tested in the South Australian context as part of this study.

¹ *ibid*, pp. 577 - 628.

² *ibid*, p. 615.

Boyd summarizes his thesis on curriculum policy making by noting '*the puzzling simultaneity of incrementalism and non-incrementalism in the policy-making process can be seen as two sides of the same coin.*'¹ On one side is the complex apparatus of organizations and agencies involved in curriculum policy making at the national level, a set of machines lubricated by professionals attentive to potential crisis and devoted to heroic visions, non-incremental reform, and their own career advancement. On the other side of the labyrinthine, a 'loosely coupled' system (Weick 1976)² by which education was governed at the sub-national levels and ultimately delivered at the local level. The extraordinary complexity and the massive inertia of this loosely linked system can easily transform heroic ventures into pedestrian projects. Thus along with the high human monetary costs of curriculum change, characteristics reflecting societal, organizational, and individual maintenance needs ensures that real change will take place slowly. These conclusions of Boyd, when linked to factors such as the need for restructuring of the South Australian Education system as an outcome of declining enrolments, declining resources, and declining confidence in the system, were tested as a portion of this study.

Since from the mid 1970s to the end of the research period for this study in 1985, South Australia experienced a decline in student numbers, and some attention to literature on policy development in the education industry associated with a non expansionary era was considered desirable. Again, Boyd (1983), in a succinct article provides a basis for study analysis.³

Boyd identifies four kinds of decline which could influence policy processes: declining enrolments, declining economic-budgetary circumstances, declining public confidence in schooling, and a declining legitimacy of administrative authority. While

¹ *ibid*, p. 169.

² Weick, K, 1976, Educational Organisations as Loosely Coupled Systems, *Administrative Science Quarterly*, no. 21, pp. 1-19.

³ Boyd, William L, 1983, Rethinking Educational Policy and Management: Political Science and Educational Administration in the 1980s in the *American Journal of Education*, vol. 92, no. 1, November 1983, pp.1-19.

Boyd focuses on American Education in the early 1980s, each of the above areas of decline could be identified in South Australia for a portion of the study period, and similar contexts and reasons for those contexts could be identified. Hence Boyd's thoughts on decline are of interest to the study.

The combination of a declining birthrate and a growing population of elderly citizens simultaneously decreased the demand for public schooling and political support for its provision in America, making necessary a fundamental rethinking of educational policy and management. Governments began to show greater interest in the effectiveness of schooling, and greater public attention on 'outcomes' upset the traditional 'logic of confidence' in schooling (Meyer and Rowan 1977).¹ The former emphasis had been on inputs as a way of overcoming equity difficulties. Lack of success lead to a general erosion in the legitimacy of administrative authority, leading to the desire for restructure.

Similarities between the American situation and the Australian were seen as worthy of some consideration, for the declining enrolments in both countries were accompanied by increases in the proportion of the educationally disadvantaged minority in government schools. In a time of contracting student numbers and revenues, there were increased demands for specialized educational services (for example, compensatory, special and bilingual education). Boyd (1983) highlights how these needs were in competition with regular educational programmes in America. This study endeavours to see how valid such conclusions were for South Australia.

Boyd (1983)² makes a number of salient observations relating to the management of decline. Firstly, resource allocation decisions become far more difficult in decline, with

¹ Meyer, John W, & Rowan, Brian, 1977, Institutionalized Organizations: Formal Structure as Myth and Ceremony, in *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 83, no. 2, pp. 340 - 363.

² Boyd, William L, 1983, op. cit, pp. 1-19.

a fundamental shift from distributive politics to redistributive politics. Secondly, participation in policy decisions is intensified as peoples' futures are directly affected, thirdly there becomes a tension between equity needs and entitlement, and morale plummets in the organization. Systematic planning, Boyd observes, becomes essential. Some analysis of the policy processes in this study look at how well the South Australian Education Department seized the opportunities presented by decline for organizational renewal and in particular mission redefinition. Boyd underscores the need for aggressive, farsighted management of decline.

The focus of Boyd's article deals with the necessary rethinking of educational policy in a context of decline. Post war objectives in America have focused on the equal and adequate provision of educational services (at least true in South Australia from 1970 onwards). In the early 1980s Boyd notes the emphasis is more on quality than quantity:

Declining confidence in schooling, declining enrolments, and tight budgets have created pressures for schooling that is both effective and more efficient. The focus is not merely equal educational opportunity, but there are now demands for something approximating equal, or at least equitable, educational results.¹

Boyd², in rethinking policy implementation relating to the purposes of schools notes some reasons for the failure of policies over the past two decades in America. As these are relevant to policy design, and my analysis of the policy processes in South Australia, they are briefly summarized below.

Firstly, Boyd observes that reformers assumed that official adoptions of policy statements (or policy positions) was tantamount to their implementation. Behind this belief is the reasoning that people can usually be rationally persuaded, enticed, or

¹ Boyd, William L, 1983, op. cit, p. 12.

² Boyd, William L, 1983, op. cit, p. 16.

compelled to accept and enact new policy directions. Boyd provides evidence from private industry to show that this assumption was fallacious, and the most that may be anticipated is a process of mutual adaption in which both the practices in a school and the new policy being implemented are modified by one another.¹

Boyd goes on to illustrate his point using the work of Lipsky (1983)² to show that the prevailing practices and attitudes of educators at the school site level usually dominate over the reform pressures. These 'street-level bureaucrats' face work conditions where they must cope with inadequate resources, threats to their authority, and ambiguous and unrealistic role expectations. Further, educators are inclined to minimize the personal costs of change by only partial or 'symbolic' implementation of policies. Boyd suggests that 'bottom-up' policies will be more successful in implementation.

Boyd notes one further point which should be considered in terms of this study which is an outcome of the non-profit nature of education itself. He observes that *'even if bottom-up strategies of reform are attempted in public schools, and 'adequate' resources are provided, analysts using the perspective of neo-conservative political economy predict that there will be goal displacement undercutting many innovations.'*³ In brief, reward structures are not related to performance, but generally based on seniority. This allows personal goals to take precedence over the official goals of systems, with the costs of policy change outweighing tangible benefits they may see.

His final point relates to the very nature of capitalist societies. The overarching structures, he suggests, fosters the maintenance of the status-quo. School systems in

¹ *ibid*, p. 16.

² Lipsky, Michael, 1983, *Toward a Theory of Street Level Bureaucracy*, in Hawley, W.D, Lipsky, M, et al, 1983, *Theoretical Perspectives of Urban Politics*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice -Hall Inc, in Boyd, William, L, 1983, *op. cit*, vol. 92, pp. 15 - 16.

³ Boyd, William L, 1983, *op. cit*, p. 17.

particular perpetuate the status crystallization of our society, and to change that threatens those who are currently in positions of status and authority.

In summary, the literature pertaining to policy development within education systems raises a number of issues for consideration which this study tests for applicability in the South Australian context. In considering the stakeholders and their part in bringing about policy changes, issues of the roles of professional educators or reformers, the adherence of the system to bureaucratic models, action from within society, changes from 'grass roots' levels, the action of partisan interest groups such as industrial unions and parent organizations, and the influence of legislation, all need to be further explored.

The nature of change in education systems also needs to be tested. The issue of the rationality possible in a complex bureaucracy, as opposed to incrementalism, or other approaches, the part played by crisis intervention and political mediation, and the use of position power within bureaucracies, are issues that deserve further exploration.

The literature also highlights inhibitors of change, such as the desire for bureaucratic and social stability, problems associated with 'loose coupling' and system complexity, the conflict of system goals and the personal goals of stakeholders, and the problems that emerge from the management of decline of student numbers and revenues at a time of greater demands for specialized services.

Finally, the very purposes of policy development are challenged. To what extent are policies meant to be practical, as opposed to symbolic? Is there a relationship between adoption of a policy statement and its implementation? Are policies directions for future action, or reflections of the past activity?

2.2. The Public Policy Process - Appropriate Methodology.

Literature on curriculum policy development and educational change, which is not subject or content specific, is essentially American in origin, and the available Australian literature lacks specific theories relating to the development of broad system wide educational policies. The author was concerned that the dearth of literature dealing with organization (as opposed to school) level curriculum policy development was limiting the scope of this study. Hence, it was seen as desirable to establish analytical tools stemming from public policy processes, as well as from the literature on educational policy development in curriculum, with the purpose of informing and adding to knowledge about curriculum policy and its relationship with the broader field of policy development. This section looks at key ideas as they are recorded in relation to the public policy process.

In 1959 Lindblom¹, put forth a justification of policy decision making under the banner of 'The Science of Muddling Through', a method characterized by 'incrementalism'.

Lindblom describes the basic strategy as one of maximizing security in making change. All reliable knowledge is based on the past, and the only way to proceed without risk is by continuing in the same direction, limiting consideration of alternative policies 'to those policies that differed in relatively small degrees from policies presently in effect.'²

Lindblom and Braybrooke (1963)³ look at the nature of decision making on a continuum from incremental to large changes. On another continuum they array political

¹ Lindblom, C.E, 1959, op. cit, pp. 79-87.

² *ibid*, p. 84.

³ Lindblom. C.E, & Braybrooke, D, 1963, op. cit, p. 78.

decisions according to the degree to which the decision makers can be supposed to understand all the features of the problem with which they were generally faced. The four quadrants represent recognizable types of decisions.

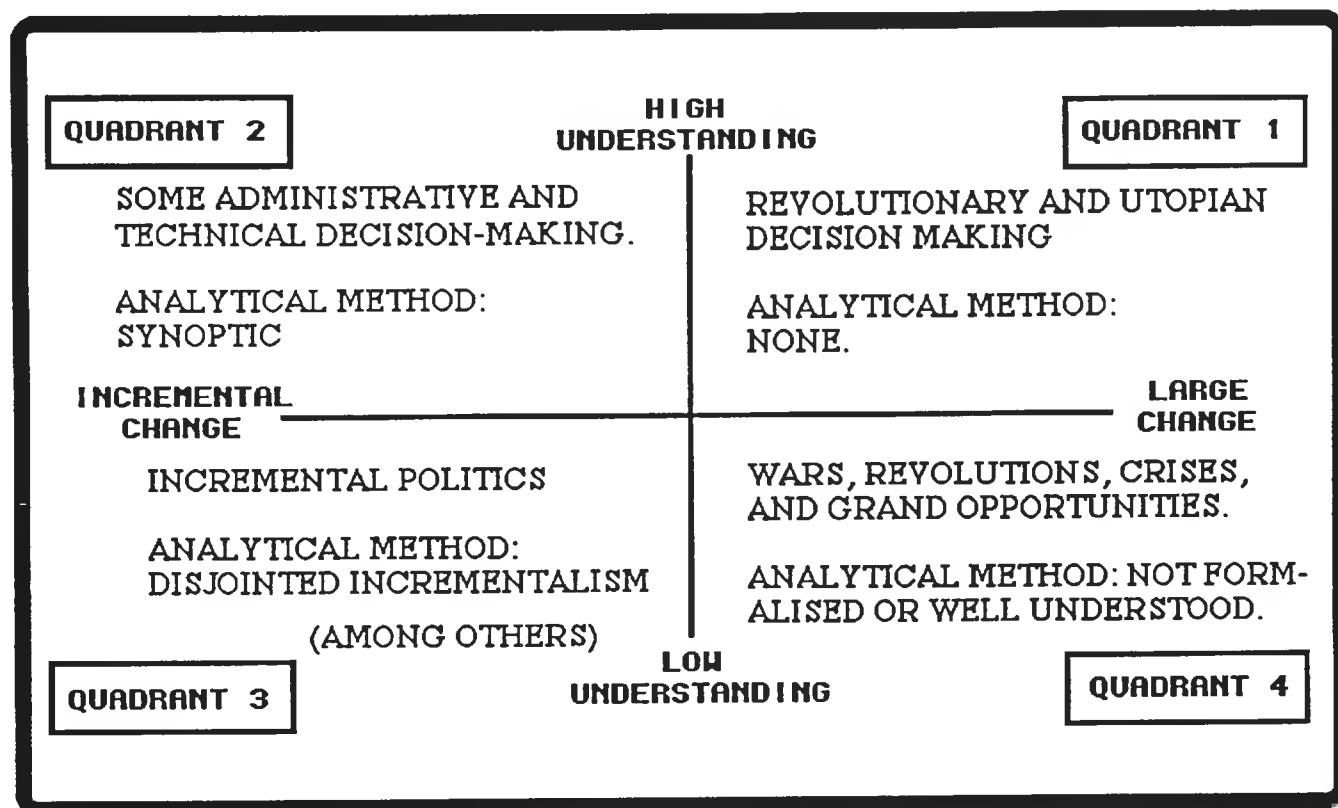


Diagram 2.1. Types of Decision Making.
Lindblom, D, and Braybrooke, C.E, (1963), 'A Strategy of Decision',
Collier-Macmillan Ltd., London, p 78.

Lindblom (1959) suggests that 'synoptic methods' should be limited to those happy (if limited) circumstances in which decisions effect sufficiently small change to make synoptic understanding possible (that is - quadrant two). While synoptic methods would be appropriate for quadrant one, Lindblom points out that the information and comprehension requirements are too great to manage large scale change. Quadrant four deals with crises, and Lindblom suggests that suitable analytical strategies do not exist for those conditions. Quadrant three sets up conditions for 'disjointed incrementalism' - conditions that were similar to those in South Australia in the 1970s and early years of 1980s, where broad curriculum policies outlining the purposes of schools were being developed.

Lindblom's approach to the policy process was that of successive limited comparisons (he termed it the 'branch' method, as opposed to the 'root' method, or 'rational-comprehensive' approach), and it begins with the existing situation, and makes changes incrementally. This method achieves simplification not only through limiting the number of alternatives considered to those that differ in small degrees to existing policies, but also because the analysis is drastically limited, neglecting important possible outcomes, alternative potential policies, and important affected values.¹ Further, deciding through successive limited comparisons involves simultaneous analysis of facts and values, and means and ends² (one chose amongst values and amongst policies at the one and same time).

The decision maker actually reached decisions by comparing specific policies and the extent to which these policies would result in the attainment of objectives. The test of a good policy was how well the policy secured agreement of the interests involved³.

In later writings, Lindblom made a few modifications to assist policy makers to muddle through more effectively. Lindblom described in detail the strategy of 'disjointed incrementalism' - a refinement of the 'successive comparisons' method⁴. This involved examining policies which differed from each other incrementally, and which differed incrementally from the status-quo. Analysis was not comprehensive, but was limited to comparisons of marginal differences in expected consequences. Using disjointed incrementalism, the decision maker would keep returning to the problems, and attempted to ameliorate those problems rather than to achieve some ideal future state. In this sense,

¹ Lindblom, C.E, 1959, *op. cit*, p. 81.

² Lindblom, C.E, 1959, *op. cit*, pp. 79 - 82.

³ *loc. cit*.

⁴ Lindblom in Lindblom, C.E, & Braybrooke, D, 1963, *op. cit*. pp. 59 -70

Lindblom and Wildavsky (1979)¹ had similarities, as he argued that problems were not so much solved as succeeded and replaced by other problems.

Lindblom, (1968)², refined further the problem that occurred when problems were analyzed at different points (disjointed incrementalism) without apparent coordination. 'Partisan mutual adjustment' is described as the way in which coordination could occur in such a situation. Lindblom³, noted that although there was no necessary connection between partisan mutual adjustment and political change by small steps, in practice the two were usually closely linked. Taken together, partisan mutual adjustment, disjointed incrementalism and successive limited comparisons formed the key concepts in the incrementalist descriptive and prescriptive model of decision making.

Dror suggested that Lindblom's strategy was an adequate method of policy making, providing that three closely interrelated conditions pertain:

- (a) *The results of present policies must be in the main satisfactory to the policy makers, and the social strata on which they depend, so that marginal changes are sufficient for achieving an acceptable rate of improvement in policy results.*
- (b) *There must be a high degree of continuity in the nature of the problems.*
- (c) *There must be a high degree of continuity in the available means of dealing with problems.*⁴

¹ Wildavsky, A, 1979, *Speaking Truth to Power: The Art and Craft of Policy Analysis*, Little, Brown, and Company, Boston and Toronto, p. 2.

² Lindblom, C.E, 1968, *The Policy Making Process*, Prentice-Hall, New York.

³ Lindblom, C.E, 1979, *Still Muddling, Not Yet Through'*, in the *Public Administration Review*, American Society of Public Administration, Washington, no. 39.

⁴ Dror, Yehezkel, 1971, *Ventures in Policy Sciences, Concept and Applications*. Elsevier: N.Y, Oxford, Amsterdam.

These three points became salient in analyzing the documents in this study.

Elboim-Dror (1970) presented the following view.

The dominant pattern of decision making in Education is by incremental change. Because of the tendency to avoid explicating value judgements, the strong sense of uncertainty and lack of information, the long wait to be able to evaluate results, and education's dependence on its environment, few decisions are made by long-range planning methods of stating goals, looking for alternatives, and forecasting their possible costs and benefits. The education system usually tries to adjust to its environment and solve its problems by using incremental changes to 'muddle through'. By reliance mainly on experience and slight changes, the system minimizes the risks of uncertainty, slowly acquires feedback information, and delays crucial decisions until a crisis occurs. Decision-making can thus be described as a tradition bound, slow sequence of incremental changes with sudden inspirational jumps when a crisis arises. Incremental decision-making seems to be a common pattern in most organizations, but in education it is dominant'.¹

Kirst and Walker (1971) suggested that disjointed incrementalism characterized curriculum policy making in most educational organizations. They explained that 'disjointed incrementalism' allowed for 'acceptance of the broad outlines of the existing situation with marginal changes contemplated'.²

Kirst and Walker cited a further characteristic of disjointed incrementalism as 'consideration of a restricted variety of policy alternatives excluding those involving radical change'.³

Another characteristic of disjointed incrementalism noted by Braybrooke and Lindblom (1963),

¹ Rachel Elboim-Dror, 1970, op. cit, pp. 246-247

² Kirst, M.F, and Walker, D.F, 1971, op. cit, pp. 479 -509.

³ *ibid*, p. 485.

*'is a consideration of a restricted number of consequences for any given policy'. 'willingness to formulate the problem as data becomes available and serial analysis and piecemeal alterations rather than a single comprehensive attack on a policy problem.'*¹

Elboim-Dror (1970) expressed some concern for this approach to policy development, stating,

*It might be satisfactory for an organization that only tries to adjust itself to a stable and slowly changing environment, but it does not suit a rapidly changing and demanding environment pressing for innovation and change from within. If education is to meet successfully its many demanding tasks and missions it will have to find new and more dynamic decision (making) strategies.*²

Lindblom and Braybrooke (1963) suggest that disjointed incrementalism is a relatively crude and simple .. *'almost wholly conscious and public strategy for decision making' that 'constituted a systematic and defensible strategy'*³.

Moynihan (1973)⁴ suggests that an alternative to incrementalism can be described as the 'professionalism of reform'. He suggested that initiatives for reform in many American Institutions were undertaken by 'persons whose profession was to do just that'. If Moynihan is correct, then this study needed to explore the impact of the various reviews and reports on Education in South Australia (and Nationally) that could influence policy processes.

The process of developing public policy as described within the literature reviewed indicates that policy decision making in bureaucracies is concerned with maximizing

¹ Lindblom. C.E, & Braybrooke, D, 1963, op. cit, p. 84.

² Elboim-Dror, R, 1970, op. cit, p. 247.

³ Lindblom. C.E, & Braybrooke, D, 1963, op. cit, p. 82.

⁴ Moynihan, D.P, 1973, op. cit, p. 548

security in making changes. It suggests that incremental changes are more likely than grand policy schemes, where choice is made amongst values and policies at the one time.

There is seen to be a need for partisan mutual adjustment between stakeholders, where disjointed incrementalism and successive limited comparisons are the key elements of descriptive models where clear objectives do not exist. Decision making becomes a slow sequence of events which lead to inspirational jumps when a crisis ensues.

A high degree of continuity is evident in the emergence of policy issues, and there appears to be a similarity in the way problems are dealt with. The influence of professional reformers provides a possible alternative to the serial approach to policy development, but they too may suggest incremental approaches.

Another area of concern to public policy makers has been the value systems of policy actors. Elboim-Dror (1970) comments,

explicating value judgements, searching for alternatives and analyzing alternatives in the light of cost effectiveness does not in any way impair their value judgements or the goals they want to attain. It merely helps them to become more conscious about their value assumptions, to see more alternatives to reaching their goals and to become more effective and efficient in using their resources to achieve their goals.¹

March (1972), in discussing policy processes suggests that

if done properly, choices are made by evaluating alternatives in terms of goals on the basis of information currently available. The alternative that is most attractive in terms of goals is chosen. The process of making choice can be improved by

¹ Elboim-Dror, Rachel, 1970, op cit, p. 253.

*using the technology of choice. Through the paraphernalia of modern techniques, we can improve the quality of analysis used to evaluate alternatives.*¹

March (1972),² identifies three ideal characteristics of choice in organizations that assist in interpreting and guiding choice in policy development. They are the

- (a) pre-existence of purpose,
- (b) necessity of consistency, and
- (c) primacy of rationality.

March believes that it would be natural to base an interpretation of human choice behaviour on a presumption of purpose which would involve a consideration of values, needs, objectives, goals and aspirations. This involves '*defining a set of objectives that are (a) prior attributes of the system, and (b) make the observed behaviour in some sense intelligent vis a vis the objectives*'. March observes that an organization is often defined in terms of its purposes and action, and is justified or criticized accordingly.

March also highlights the 'necessity for consistency'. This he bases on the belief that actions within an organization are consistent with each other. Behaviours exhibited in an organization and individuals are consistent with the organizations objectives. This is achieved through the third characteristic of choice, 'primacy of rationality', by relating consequences systematically to objectives.

Elboim-Dror (1970), notes that

Intangible goals impair rational decision making and do not aid effective planning. It is easy to interpret action as meeting goals because intangible goals are difficult to measure. Such intangible goals result in people becoming disillusioned

¹ March, J.G. 1972, *Model Bias in Action*, in the *Review of Educational Research*, American Educational Research Association, Washington, vol. 42, no. 4, p. 418.

² loc. cit.

*because they are aware of the discrepancy between intangible goals and the actual accomplishments of the system. Intangible goals are readily displaced.*¹

Elboim-Dror concludes that administrators are seen to direct lower levels of the education system. Rewards and sanctions are expected, so that tangible goals that can be measured and evaluated.

Elboim-Dror cynically suggests² that often policy is deliberately vague with the the real purpose being to stimulate further educational debate. The resultant widespread phenonoma of *'the process of displacement of intangible educational goals with growth and maintenance goals'* is quite deliberate.

*The conflicts and competition between goals such as mass education versus elite education; science and technology versus liberal arts and the social sciences; space research versus education as consumption - all these and other similar conflicts are created by environmental pressures and changes and are imposed on the education policy formation system.*³

Elboim-Dror notes that there is *'no well accepted criteria for policy making in education'*⁴. Consensus reached through a bargaining process often results in some inconsistent educational goals, despite the fact that the policy makers may comprise of a significant majority of people who hold similar beliefs about the policy issue. Results may therefore lack *'a systematic hierarchy of means-ends to bridge the gap between ultimate general ends and the specific instrumental operational means'*⁵

¹ Elboim-Dror, Rachel, 1970, op cit, pp. 233 - 234.

² Elboim-Dror, Rachel, 1970, op cit, p. 235.

³ loc.cit.

⁴ loc.cit.

⁵ loc. cit.

Policy expectations of individuals and system expectations may be quite different. Ultimately systems (political and symbolic) needs are met in preference to the needs of those who work in an organization. Clark (1981) comments,

*the linkage and responsiveness assumed by traditional planning systems is seldom found in educational organizations' and the failure 'lies not in technical details of the systems but in discrepancy between the assumptions undergirding such systems and the reality of what occurs in such organizations.'*¹

Public policy findings indicate that an understanding of the values of stakeholders may point to the pre-existence of purposes, and the development of tangible goals within systems. Where goals are intangible, they are frequently displaced by growth and maintenance goals, a deliberate strategy sometimes used within large organizations. Intangible goals are often the outcome of a bargaining process, where partisan mutual adjustment becomes necessary. Policy expectations of the system may well differ from those held by individuals working within the organization, for a system often has symbolic purposes, which may displace the more practical needs of the members of the organization.

In looking at how policy ought to be made, Hogwood and Gunn (1984)² suggest one way of deciding whether or not more synoptic approaches should be used for policy making. They suggest passing the issues through a 'decision tree' as a filter. They propose that a preliminary test should apply, where an issue must pass through a 'gateway' before subjecting it to more detailed filters to determine the best way to approach decision making. A fragment of a typical tree is shown in the following diagram.

¹ Clark, D.L, 1981, In *Consideration of Goal Free Planning: The Failure of Traditional Planning Systems in Education*, in the *Educational Administrative Quarterly*, UCEA, Columbus, vol. 17, no. 3, p. 47.

² Hogwood, B.W. & Gunn, L.A, 1984, *op. cit*, pp. 104 - 106.

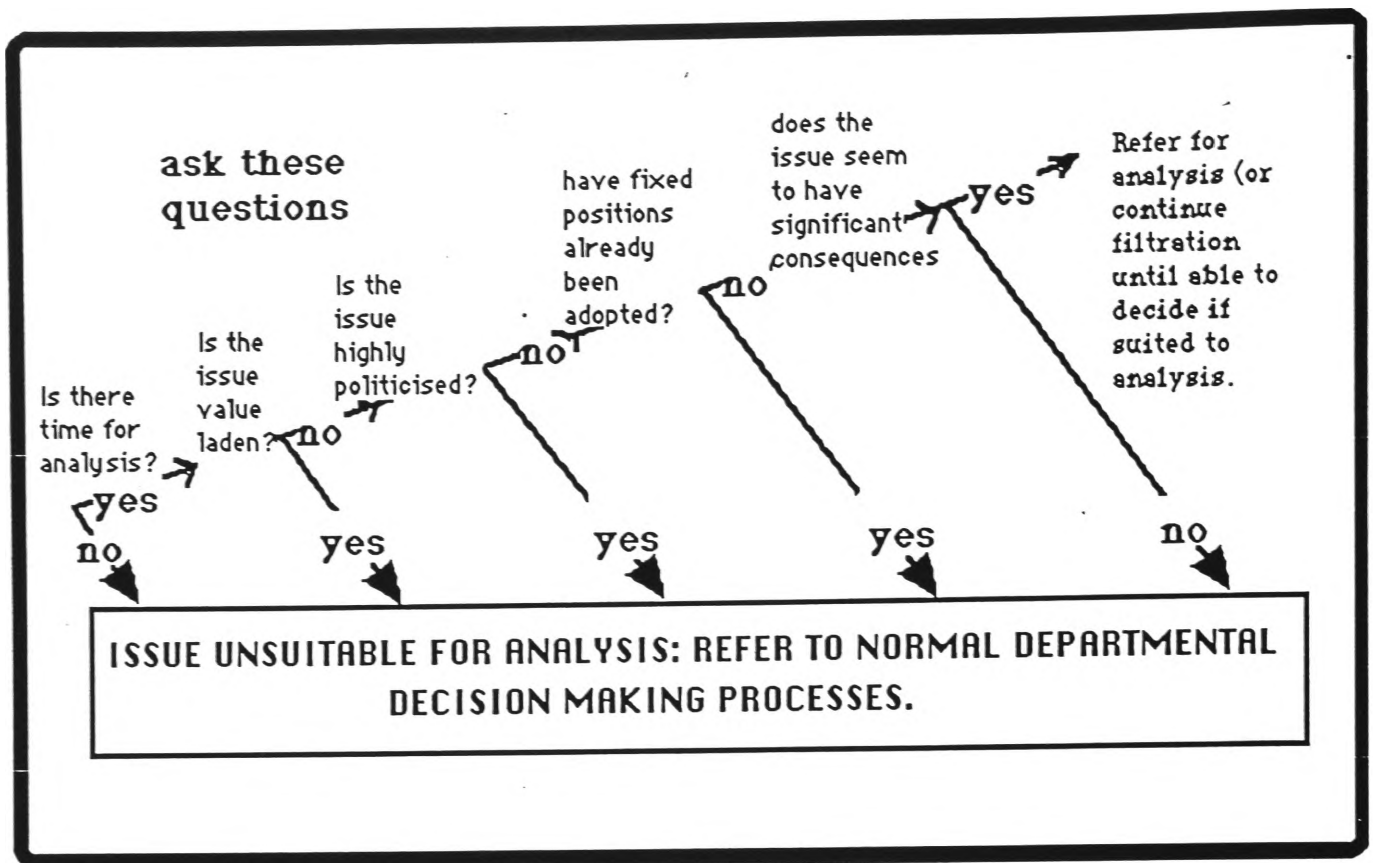


Diagram 2.2. Fragment of a decision tree for issue filtration.
Hogwood, B.W. and Gunn, L.A, (1984), *Policy Analysis for the Real World*, Oxford University Press, fig 6.1, p 104.

The work of Hogwood and Gunn proved useful to the study, in acting as a source of relevant questions in the processes of analysis. Hogwood and Gunn use Lasswell's approach to policy sciences to develop a framework for analysis that incorporates both prescription and description, distinguishing between policy studies and policy analysis. Lasswell (1951),¹ - demonstrates concern for both 'knowledge of' and 'knowledge in' policy making. A summary of Lasswell's work appears in chart form as follows.

¹ Lasswell, H, 1951, in Lerner, D. & Lasswell, H. eds, 1970, *op. cit.*

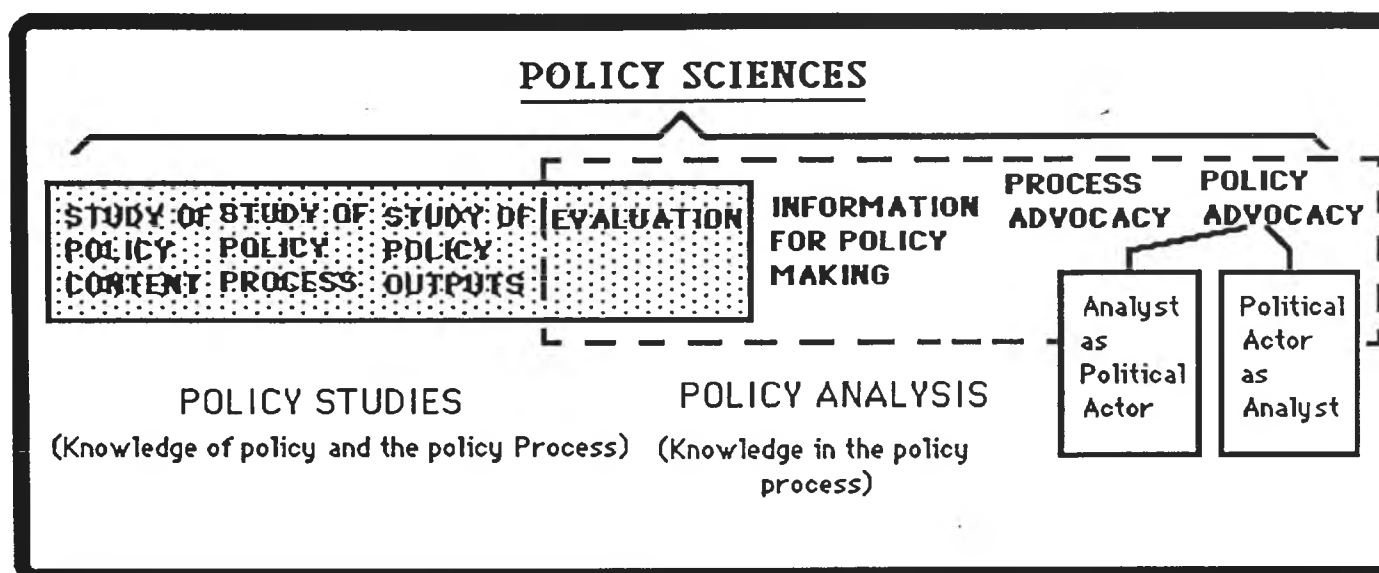


Diagram 2.3. Types of Public Policy Making,
after Lasswell, H, (1970) in Hogwood, B.W, and Gunn, L.A, (1984), Policy Analysis for
the Real World, p 29.

Hogwood and Gunn (1984)¹ develop a framework that deals with the following issues.

- (1) Deciding to decide (issue search or agenda setting).
- (2) Deciding how to decide (or issue filtration)
- (3) Issue definition.
- (4) Forecasting.
- (5) Setting objectives and priorities.
- (6) Options analysis.
- (7) Policy implementation, monitoring, and control.
- (8) Evaluation and review.
- (9) Policy maintenance, succession, or termination.

While this is not necessarily a step by step sequence, the early steps in this framework are used in the study to revisit issues leading to the production of policy documents with particular emphasis on 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes'. The 'contingent approach' of Hogwood and Gunn was chosen, as it avoids the stereotype

¹ Hogwood, B.W, & Gunn, L.A, 1984, op cit, p. 68.

extremes of the synoptic rational-comprehensive model, or the incremental 'muddling through' approach to analysis.

As this study aimed at examining the processes of policy development, it used questions developed by Hogwood and Gunn to develop a more detailed analysis. In particular, questions relating to 'issue search', 'issue filtration', and 'issue definition' are asked as they related to the purposes of schools in South Australia.

'Issue definition' as described by Hogwood and Gunn (1984)¹ is the processes by which an issue, having been recognized as such and placed on the policy agenda, is perceived by various interested parties; further explored, articulated and possibly quantified, and in some cases given an authoritative (or at least provisionally acceptable) definition in terms of the likely causes, components and consequences. This definition as a description, is the very heart of this study.

In considering the literature that may be relevant to the study, it became necessary to briefly explore the notion of politics and power.

Burns (1971) describes the interactions between various parties as 'political', even though not allied to any party politics. He says *'Every organization is a scene of 'political' activity in which individuals and departments compete and co-operate for power.'*²

That competition and cooperation in developing the various 'purposes of schools' documents is central to this study, incorporating the values emerging from the social context, as well as the values, ideals, and objectives of individuals involved in establishing curriculum processes. Potential existed for conflict.

¹ *ibid*, p. 108.

² Burns, T, 1971, in Pugh, D.S, et al, 1971, *Writers on Organizations*, Penguin Books, Middlesex., p. 47.

Silvert (1970), in discussing possible power struggles suggests that, '*Power should shed its meaning related to the imposition of will, and assume the broader meaning of having to do with increasing man's ability to control the consequences of choice.*'¹

Harman (1978) said, '*politics is concerned with the exercise of power, influence, and authority and with making authoritative decisions about the allocation of values and resources.*'²

Thus this study provides information that serves to clarify the political interplay that leads to the development of each curriculum policy document developed in South Australia during the period of study. The study spends time establishing whether the sources of the policy agendas were internal or external, how these agendas were linked to social and political pressures, and whether the policy statements arising were outcomes of professional reformers, or an outcome of publicly perceived needs.

2.3. Key Questions Emerging from the Literature Review.

The major issues within literature determining how policies were established have been briefly described, and these became the basis for developing the study methodology. From the literature review emerged many central and subsidiary questions about the curriculum policy processes in South Australia. These are brought together below.

For study convenience the questions are aggregated under themes that consistently emerged within the literature.

¹ Silvert, K, 1970, *Man's Power*. The Viking Press, New York, p. 162.

² Harman, G.S, 1978, *Education and Politics in Changes, Issues and Prospects in Australian Education*, University of Queensland Press, St. Lucia, p. 6.

1. Theme: The Relationship between Curriculum Theory and Curriculum Policy:

How singular were the politics of idealism and progressivism, or were policy makers anxious to meet the key beliefs of a range of philosophies?

How rational and comprehensive was the policy making process or was the process more akin to incrementalism? How much were policies meant to be real, and how much symbolic?

Was there a common and accepted model of decision making? Were alternative models considered? Was curriculum policy development under-pinned by a theoretical framework?

Did crisis hasten change, and was there change without crisis? What effect did the 'loose coupling' existent in the South Australian Education system have on the outcome of policies?

What aspects of curriculum policy development in South Australia relied on public policy methods? How were choices made between policies and between policy methods? How were goals established?

What attempts were made to 'test' the development of curriculum policy processes against theoretical approaches (for example - decision filters)?

2. Theme: Internal Forces in the Development of Curriculum Policy Versus External Expectations.

What policy tension existed between the South Australian Government and curriculum reformers? What policy tension existed between the Director General of

Education and curriculum reformers? What effect did social policies established by Governments have on curriculum policies (for example, multi-cultural policies and compensatory approaches to Education)?

Did the tension between centralization and decentralization effect curriculum policy outcomes? Was there a difference between the internal political action and the external forces at play?

3. Theme: The Social Context of Curriculum Policy Development.

In the policy process, how far were schools expected to preserve culture and how much change it? What were the contextual issues, the pervading philosophies of each policy period, and what bearing did they have on curriculum policy developmental processes?

What were the outcomes of more pluralistic values as opposed to traditional beliefs? How egalitarian were the policy makers? What assumptions were made by policy developers? What common forum of debate aided the policy development processes?

What effects did declining enrolments, economic circumstances, restructuring, and public opinion have on policy development?

What cultural inertia existed as barriers to change? How was conflict between personal goals and system objectives managed?

4. Theme: The Curriculum Policy Agenda Source: Professional Reformers, Public Perception of Needs, or Individual Initiative?

Which groups and individuals became influential (and why) in the acting out of the policy processes? Who controlled the policy processes? How were partisan interests accommodated?

What part was played by professional reformers - what part by the wider community? What was the influence of enquiries into education? Who influenced these enquiries?

What groups became influential in policy making? What part did unions, teachers, parents, reviewers, and bureaucrats play in the development of curriculum policies? Whose expectations were met/unmet? How was power exercised within the system of education?

Chapter Three:

The Planning, Designing, Conceptualizing, and Technical Analysis.

3.1. The Study Design.

This chapter establishes an understanding of the terms 'curriculum' and 'policy' as used in the South Australian context, the anticipated issues and variables associated with the study following the literature search outlined in the previous chapter, and the design of the study methodology.

An objective of this study was to undertake a detailed analysis of the forces shaping the curriculum policies developed in South Australia between 1968 and 1985. An early understanding of the terms 'curriculum' and 'policy' as they have been applied by the South Australian Education Department was seen as a pre-requisite to the study. In that way, any findings would be in terms of 'curriculum policies' as they were understood in South Australia rather than be based on assumptions ranging from a wide interpretation of possible meanings.

3.1.1. 'Curriculum'

Curriculum circulars issued prior to 1970 in South Australia, failed to define what was meant by the word *curriculum*, and it was generally left for teachers interpreting instructions to extract meaning from the context.

The Karmel enquiry Report of 1971¹ used the word curriculum in the same loose way, taking curriculum to mean any of the following things.

¹ Karmel, Peter, H, chairperson, 1971, *op. cit*, p. 506.

- (a) The sum of all the formal and informal experiences provided by a school for its students.
- (b) Syllabuses in the various subjects or 'learning areas' that make up a schools timetable.
- (c) Detailed courses, which may or may not have a syllabus outline.

It made no reference at all as to what curriculum policy might be, again expecting the context to make clear the meaning.

The 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum' of August 1970¹ talked about the Principal's right (within the broad framework of the Education Act), to vary the school curriculum advised by the various curriculum boards, but made no attempt to define what 'curriculum' was. The context here suggested that the word 'curriculum' was synonymous with the word 'courses'.

The first real attempts to define the word curriculum grew from a general review of the Primary School Curriculum conducted in 1974. The report by the committee on the 'Organization of Curriculum Fields' developed the concept of 'Core curriculum', suggesting that '*.....the Board may specify a required core of experiences, knowledge and skills based on the expected outcomes in each field..... Each school will be expected to undertake this core.*'² Against this background, the Primary Schools Advisory Curriculum Board decided that it needed to define what it meant by curriculum.

In an article published in *Educational Administrator*, Willmott (1975) commented that.....

¹ Jones, A.W. 1970, op. cit.

² Review of Primary Schools Curriculum. 1974, A Report, Education Department of South Australia, S.A. Education Department Archives, p. 81.

There is an increasing tendency in this state, and indeed throughout most advanced educational systems, for major responsibilities in the area of curriculum development to be placed in the local school arena. The 'curriculum' is no longer seen to be a prescribed syllabus of topics and content with an equally mandatory set of books, materials and even lesson sequences to be followed lock-step in each school.¹

Willmott highlighted the fact that there were many definitions of the term 'curriculum'. He took as his definition that described by Kerr². This definition described curriculum as *'all the learning which is planned and guided by the school, whether it is carried on in groups or individually, inside or outside the school'*³.

During 1975, a group of Principal Education Officers produced a document called 'The School's Curriculum 1',⁴ providing a framework for secondary schools within which it expected school based curriculum to develop. They adopted the same curriculum definition as Willmott had suggested appropriate for primary schools some twelve months earlier⁵. This policy framework document went on to add, *'It does not deny the importance of considering the 'hidden curriculum' in planning the more overt learning experiences'*⁶.

When in June 1981 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' was issued as a curriculum framework for schools, it failed to define what was meant by 'curriculum'. It was left to the 'Into the 80s - Curriculum Authority and Responsibility' policy

¹ Willmott, G.M. 1975, *The Core Curriculum in South Australian Primary Schools*, in *Educational Administrator No 1*, published by the South Australian Institute of Educational Administration, July, p. 2.

² Kerr, J. 1968, *Changing the Curriculum*, University of London, Unibooks.

³ S.A. Education Department, *The Schools Curriculum 1*. 1976, op. cit, p. 16.

⁴ The Principal Education Officers were coordinated by Mr M.L. Strange, Superintendent of Secondary Schools.

⁵ S.A. Education Department, *The Schools Curriculum 1*, 1976, op. cit, p. 10.

⁶ *ibid*, p 12.

statement of 1985 to define curriculum. It states, *'the term curriculum refers to the plan a school has for providing learning experiences for its student'*.¹

In summary, the South Australian Education Department has consistently used Kerr's (1968) definition of curriculum. As such, this research study will use this definition whenever curriculum is discussed as it relates to the South Australian experiences. For this reason it is useful to restate Kerr's definition.

'Curriculum is defined as all the learning which is planned and guided by the school, whether it is carried on in groups or individually, inside or outside the school'

More specifically, the term curriculum was used to refer to an 'area of studies' organized for a particular group of students, for example, 'the Junior Primary Curriculum', 'the Primary Curriculum', 'the secondary curriculum' were frequently used expressions. Terms such as 'English Curriculum', 'Science Curriculum', or 'music curriculum' were also used and divided to cover experiences over the years R-12, R-7, 8-12², or for a specific year level in a particular subject.

3.1.2. 'Policy'

The word 'policy' appeared many times in communications from the Education Department over the period of investigation (1968 to 1985). While the word 'policy' was discussed in 1974, in relation to the Primary Education review, consensus was not reached on its meaning, and declaration of meaning failed to exist in official documents sent to schools.

¹ Into the 80s - Curriculum Authority and Responsibility. 1985, op. cit, p. 12.

² R-12, R-7, 8-12 indicate year levels within South Australian Schools, with R standing for the reception year, 12 for the twelfth year of schooling, and so on.

Rarely did the word 'policy' stand alone. It usually was supported by adjectives to become 'school policy', 'curriculum policy', 'departmental policy', or the such like.

Undated definitions discussed by curriculum personnel between 1974 and 1976, existed in archival unsourced discussion papers¹ and included the following definitions.

- (a) Policy is a course of action adopted and pursued by a school.
- (b) A policy is a statement that declares the aims of an organization and outlines the action to achieve them. In conjunction with the aims, a policy may provide a context of the background and accepted values.
- (c) School policy is a statement of beliefs of a school as a community and the actions that flow from these. It is designed to give school personnel necessary direction in carrying out these responsibilities and to inform others of the school's programme.
- (d) A school policy is a major guide-line for future action. It is a generalized, philosophically based, and implies an intention, and a pattern for taking action. It creates a framework, with some basis for discretion, with which the Principal and the school staff can discharge their duties with clear directions.

It could well be, that (d) was a variation of a statement taken from *The Primary School Curriculum Manual: for Victorian Schools* published in duplicated form in 1974, which stated

- (e) 'A school policy is a statement of the school's intention (its aims), the reasons why such aims are seen as important (its rationale), the underlying assumptions or values supporting such aims and an overview of the arrangements by which it will attempt to achieve it's aim.'

¹ South Australian Education Department Archives: 1965-1987, 30 Flinders Street, Adelaide, 5000.

Theile (1978), gave the following lighthearted definitions of policy.¹

(f) 'Policy is like a cemetery: society has so many old friends buried there, and their ghosts keep haunting us.'

(g) 'An old policy is like a bald headed man: at least it's neat'²

Theile did not go on to define policy - rather he talked about curriculum models.

Theile (1978) illustrated that understanding of what was generally considered as policy in South Australia, could only be gained from the sense in which the word 'policy' was used in circulars and memoranda. The following observations are offered.

1. The policy documents and memoranda aim at giving consistency to decision making, where a number of people or groups were expected to make decisions (about curriculum).

2. While consistency in decision making is one element, policies are expected to allow some individual discretion (in curriculum) within the policy framework. Translation of policy is usually expected at a school level, subject level, and through the teacher's programme.

3. Policy statements are expected to govern action, and hence demand a rationale, and clear objectives.

¹ Colin Theile was Director of Wattle Park Teachers' Centre in 1978. Wattle Park Teachers' Centre was a support centre for teachers, and was involved in the implementation of new curriculum and methodologies throughout South Australian schools. The quotations given refer to an untitled talk held in the Orphanage library which now accommodates the resources previously held at Wattle Park.

² **Developing, Implementing and Evaluating Curricula.** 1978, A report of the South Australian Secondary Principals' Seminar, 18th-22nd June.

4. Policies are not meant to be static, and are to be reviewed as the context changes.¹

In 1985, the Director General of Education, in his foreword to the 'Curriculum Authority and Responsibility' document suggested that policy took into account aims, objectives, and plans to discharge these responsibilities.²

Thus, to be consistent with the circulars, memoranda, dialogue, and policy documents sent to schools from the South Australian Education Department, 'policy' will be interpreted to mean a statement of intention (aims), the reasons why such aims are seen as important (rationale), the underlying assumptions or values supporting such aims, and an overview of the arrangements (plan) by which attempts will be made to achieve objectives'

Hence curriculum policies were seen to be *those statements associated with establishing the learning intentions planned and guided by the school.*

The key statements relating to 'curriculum policy' for the period of the study are listed below.

1. The 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum' (1970),
2. 'The Purposes of Schools' (1971),
3. 'The Purposes of Schools (Revised)' (1975),
4. 'The Schools Curriculum 1' document (1976),
5. 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' (1981),
6. and, 'Into the 80s - Curriculum Authority and Responsibility' (1985).

¹ Steinle, J.R. 1985, Foreword to *Into the 80s - Curriculum Authority and Responsibility: a Policy Statement for Government Schools*, Education Department of South Australia, p. 5.

² *ibid*, p. 4.

Of these 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' (1981) became the key focus as the most comprehensive curriculum policy statement during this period of study.

3.1.3. The anticipated 'issues' and 'variables'.

In bringing together the themes and questions emerging from the literature search and recorded at the end of the previous chapter, the historical context described in chapter one, and the preliminary knowledge attained in examining the content of the curriculum policy documents chosen as central to the study, five issues of particular interest to the South Australian context were identified to establish a focus for the study. The recurring issues are embodied in the following questions.

- What were the purposes of schooling at each stage of curriculum policy development.?
- In what context did each operate?
- How were these purposes modified by the context and/or individuals? Why did policy changes re-occur?
- Who monitored/controlled the curriculum of schools?
- What was the framework for policy design? How adequately did policy design incorporate the curriculum philosophies, context, purposes, and controls identified?

From these issues, it was anticipated that a number of variables would emerge that would help answer a significant number of the questions of the preceding chapter, and

thus give understanding to the South Australian curriculum policy developments for example,

- To what degree was the policy making process synoptic in approach as distinct from incremental?
- Were the sources of policy stimuli internal or external? What were the links to social forces or pressures?
- How much did policy develop from the initiatives of professional reformers as opposed to publicly perceived needs? What part was played by internal and external politics in the policy designs?
- How significant were the policies meant to be in relation to their symbolic value as opposed to their real or utilitarian purposes? Whose values were incorporated in policy formation?
- How was 'power' distributed and utilized amongst interested actors? What part was played by 'organizational politics' within the system?
- What were the competing ideologies and how did they influence the policy directions?

3.1.4. Sources of Data and Information.

The study methodology design was chosen after giving consideration to the possible sources and availability of research information. The following data sources were identified.

- a. **archival information** - Available through a search of circulars, minutes, reports, journal articles, speeches, memoranda, documents, educational reviews, and newspapers. The Education Department Archives, Education Department Library, Wattle-Park Teacher Centre library, and the South Australian Institute of Teachers Library contained information of direct relevance to this study.

- b. **interview information** - As the period of study chosen (1968 - 1985) was relatively recent, many of the actors in the policy processes were still alive and were interviewed to give further meaning to archival information. Past actors in the process assisted in the identification of positions of communication flow, the major gatekeepers, the key stakeholders, and the historical nature of the issues from their inauguration as subjects of policy attention to the completion of policy documents. As actors they amplified definitions, values and assumptions that they held at the time of policy development, and the interplay between actors and stakeholders.

Interview techniques, and question planning brought together strategies outlined by Floyd (1984), Jr.¹ and Majchrzak (1984)².

- c. **literature search** - This approach was used to summarize traditional views on the curriculum policy issues already identified and as a basis for questioning participants in the process.

- d. **theories of public policy processes..** A comparison of the South Australian Education Department's curriculum policy development processes was made with processes accounted by public policy theory.

¹ Floyd J. F, Jr. 1984, *Survey Research Methods, Applied Social Research Methods Series*, SAGE publications, Beverly Hills, vol. 1,

² Majchrzak, Ann. 1984, *op. cit*, pp 36-40.

3.1.5. Study Design and Implementation.

Each of these four strands of data collection and information gathering were incorporated in the technology used. The methodology incorporating data collection, conceptualization, and technical analysis was based on processes and procedures in social research established by Majchrzak (1984).¹ This was augmented using the technical analysis questions and processes developed for the analysis of public policy by Hogwood and Gunn (1984)², who in turn used the work of Lasswell (1951)³ in developing their intellectual framework. While the framework of this study incorporates other ideas consistent with the thinking of the authors mentioned, the main features of the methodology derive from their work.

Majchrzak's policy research methodology incorporates three stages, firstly a preliminary gathering of information based on issues, including the past policy making context, secondly, conceptualization of the research including the development of questions associated with issues and malleable variables, and thirdly technical analysis, recording and reporting. The work of Hogwood and Gunn gives direction to the final stages in analyzing the data. Questions they raise in relation to issue search, issue filtration, and issue definition became important in the recording and reporting stages.

The following is a summary of the study design and implementation based on the methodology above. Later chapters record the outcomes, while Appendix 'N' (The Researchers Diary), provides additional insights, and highlights the research difficulties which emerged, causing changes to the sequencing and directions of data collection, and technical analysis.

Study Design.

¹ *ibid*, pp 36 - 93

² Hogwood, B.W. & Gunn, L.A. 1984, *op. cit.*

³ Lasswell, H. 1951, in Lerner, D. & Lasswell, H. (Editors). 1970, *op. cit.*

The study began with a search of documents and archives to establish the meanings given to 'policy' and 'curriculum' during the period from 1968-1985 in South Australia, so that any curriculum policy analysis could be undertaken without assumptions about the terminology.

At the same time broad system wide curriculum policy statements were identified for investigation in the study in terms of the forces bringing about their establishment.

To establish a starting point for the study, 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' policy statement was chosen from amongst the curriculum policy documents of the study period. It was chosen to commence the study because it was the most recent statement developed in what appeared to be a democratic process operating over a short period of time (three years). Hence policy actors could still be interviewed, and archival information was expected to be readily available.

The experiences of observing and analyzing the forces bringing about the policy 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' was to determine the approach to all of the other system policies identified over this period. The methodology was to be extended to each of the periods which lead to the production of a curriculum policy statement.

Initial research involved interviews with key policy actors of the period 1978 - 1981, and reflection upon available archival materials. It immediately demonstrated that the policy document 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' was not developed discretely within this period as assumed, and that the key issue of the purposes of schools had been a continually re-emerging Education Department agenda item in response to the changing social and political context, and the lack of clear objectives within curriculum policy documents.

Each policy document produced appeared to expand and modify earlier curriculum policies. The iterative nature of the policy development process and the fact that many of the same people had been stakeholders across the full period of this study, allowed the researcher to establish a preliminary understanding of the policy processes.

Two key people from the South Australian Education Department, who were closely involved in developing 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' were invited to provide background information to the researcher as a starting point for the study. A retired former Director of Curriculum¹, and a Superintendent of Curriculum in the late 1970s², were consulted. They were chosen, as they were both available, and both had been part of the system in the development of each of the policies identified for consideration and for exploration. As O'Brien had retired, it was anticipated that he could 'tell it as it was' without fear of any system reaction. Smallacombe was a potential user of the study outcomes and as such was likely to be supportive of the study. In this way, some useful preliminary information could be obtained, as well as support for the study itself.

With the assistance of these people, the pathways leading to the policies in question were established by identifying positions of authority, communication flow, major gatekeepers³, key stakeholders, and the historical nature of the issues from their inauguration as subjects of policy attention to their current status.

¹ M.A. O'Brien.

² R. Smallacombe.

³ 'Gatekeepers' are people who control the flow of information between various stakeholder groups. How much, how little, and how often they convey information is of interest to the study.

With their assistance the policy making process was charted for 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes'. This model was similar to that developed by A. Majchrzak¹ and shown in diagram 3.1.

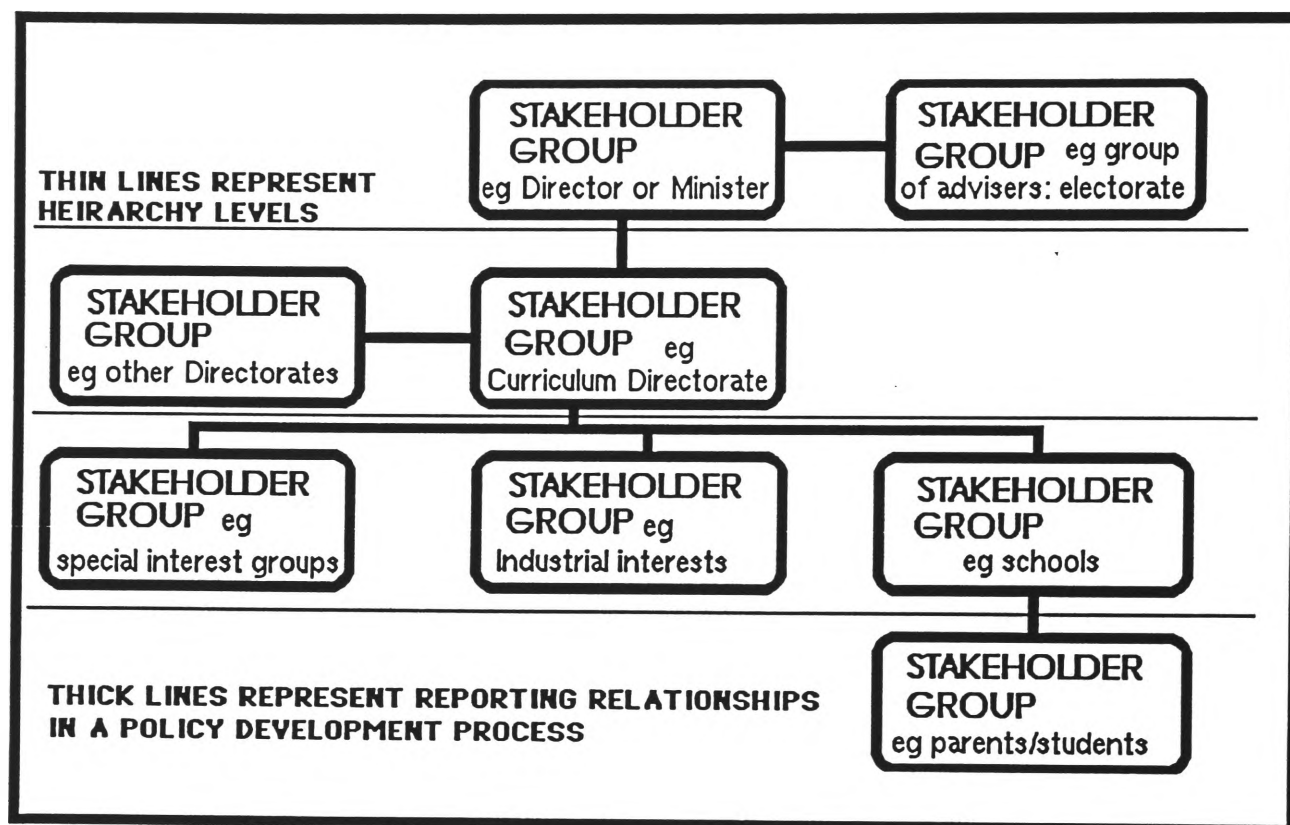


Diagram 3.1. Hypothetical Model of the Policy Making Process, after Majchrzak, Ann, (1984), *Methods for Policy Research, Applied Social Research Methods Series, Vol 3*, SAGE publications, Beverly Hills, p 37.

The actual final chart produced is recorded in chapter six (6.1.), which records the findings of this specific curriculum policy development period.

A number of actors representing each stakeholder group were interviewed to modify the chart, to synthesize the information on causes, values, assumptions, and definitions, and for the researcher to map these at the time of policy formation. This

¹ Majchrzak, Ann. 1984, *op. cit*, p 37.

preliminary approach is consistent with the ideas of Freeman (1983)¹, who recommends this as a preliminary step to a SWOT² analysis. He believes that the corporate strategy (policy) can be best understood as a corporation's mode of relating or building bridges to its stakeholders.

In implementation, the process of value mapping assumed levels of conflict between the stakeholder groups that did not appear to exist in actuality. Further, the values of several individuals assumed greater importance in the policy development processes than the group values. This information was noted for the conceptual stage of the policy research, and Appendix 'N' contains information on the researchers responses to this information.

Specific research questions were designed for a sample of actors who were selected as key representative of the stakeholders. These questions aimed to elicit information about the real problems being addressed in the formulation of each curriculum policy, to identify the 'malleable variables' at the time, and to indicate which stakeholders appeared to influence happenings, how they gathered, sorted, and organized data, and how they influenced each other. (Appendices A, B, C, and D provide samples of questions designed for different actors).

In addition to survey data, considerable time was spent in archival research³, agendas, minutes of meetings, work papers, and draft documents were perused. Reading

¹ Freeman, R. E. 1983, *Strategic Management: a Stakeholder Approach*, in Lamb. R. ed. 1983, *Advances in Strategic Management*, Tai Press Inc, vol. 1, pp. 33 and 105.

² An analysis of Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats associated with decision making in resolving problems.

³ This proved exceedingly frustrating and difficult, as the South Australian Education Department Archives consisted of boxes of loose and unrelated information roughly sorted into 'years' rather than 'subjects'. Over time much of the information had been lost, mislaid, or perhaps never kept, though the "Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes" information was far more complete than information on the earlier periods under consideration. See Appendix 'N' for information on methodology changes.

was undertaken relating to public policy processes, and the literature on curriculum policies was reviewed in preparation for technical analysis.

The most malleable variables established by this process were selected for further study.¹ Many appeared to relate to context (consistent with earlier hypothesis), though some unpredicted political influences also emerged from the interviews. Interview material suggests that while curriculum policy development appeared to be a democratic consultative process, small changes made for political expediency often dramatically changed the nature and perceived intent of the curriculum policy documents.

A further set of research questions was designed to address the malleable variables, and to establish the contextual issues more clearly. A 'second round' of interviews with a wider range of actors was then devised, with specific measurable indicators for policy processes being sought wherever possible (see appendices B and C for the specific questions asked of Steinle² and Blackburn³).

As part of the methodology, permission was obtained from the participants for the discussions to be tape-recorded. The interviews were then typed up verbatim, and sent back to participants for any alterations, additions or deletions that they would like to make. They were advised that the information recorded could be quoted in the final thesis publication

1 Malleable variables are those which are considered most subject to influence.

2 J.R. Steinle was Director General of Education, 1976 - 1986, and author of the 1971 'The Purposes of Schools' document, while Deputy Director General of Education.

3 Jean Blackburn was consultant to the "Committee of Enquiry into Education in South Australia" from the 19th April, 1969, and major author of its report "Education in South Australia" 1969 -1970. Later, she became a member of the Interim Committee for the Australian Schools Commission, responsible for the Federal Karmel Committee report (1973).

The final analysis of the curriculum policy processes was planned and undertaken in two parts. The first part reviewed the processes, using methods outlined by Majchrzak (1984)¹, in terms of the events as they occurred (descriptive). A secondary analysis was then undertaken in terms of processes associated with public policy processes and the original assumptions about these policy processes. For this, Hogwood and Gunn (1984)² developed a framework that involved both description and prescription. Their 'contingent approach', as described in chapter two, avoids the stereotype extremes of the synoptic rational-comprehensive model, or the incremental 'muddling through' approach to analysis.

The questions raised by Hogwood and Gunn relating to agenda setting, issue filtration, and issue definition, became the focus of the secondary analysis.

¹ **ibid**, pp. 38 - 64

² **Hogwood and Gunn. 1984, op. cit, p. 68.**

A number of other texts were consulted in developing methodological approaches. The major influences came from the following,

Walker, Rob. 1985, Doing Research. A Handbook for Teachers, Methuen.

Mills, C. Wright. 1959, The Sociological Imagination, Oxford University Press.

Ham, Christopher & Hill, Michael. 1985, The Policy Process in the Modern Capitalist State, Wheatsheaf Books Ltd.

Beeby, C.E. 1988, Educational Research and the Making of Policy, as reported in *Australian Educational Researcher*, Australian Association For Research in Education, vol. 15, no. 2, June 88.

Marshall, Catherine. 1988, Bridging the Chasm between Policy Makers and Educators, *Theory into Practice*, Ohio State University, Columbus, vol. 27, no. 2, Spring, pp. 98-105,

McDonnell, Lorraine. 1988, Can Education Research Speak to State Policy?, *Theory into Practice*, McGraw-Hill, London, Vol 27, No 2, Spring, pp 91-97.

Freeman, R. E. 1983, in Lamb. R. ed.. 1983, *Advances in Strategic Management*, vol 1, op. cit.

The final step was to bring together the theory, concepts, and methodological principles, with the data, ideas, and information, to make sense of the policy processes, and the development of curriculum policies in the South Australian setting.

While the above is a summary outline of the planned research process for data collection and curriculum policy analysis, there were many departures from the plan. These are described in Appendix 'N'.

In reflection, the preceding three chapters have provided the background and planning associated with this curriculum policy study, and the information established through empirical research is now recorded in chapters four to nine.

The study research findings recorded in chapter four begin with the rhetoric of 1968. This was chosen as a point of radical departure from the carefully prescribed education system of established courses and syllabi in existence since the Second World War. It examines new policies and directions for the 1970s, which provide greater autonomy to school communities in the development of their own courses of instruction.

Chapter Four: 1968 -1971: From Prescription and Direction to Freedom and Authority and new Purposes for Schooling.

This chapter reports the research on the period leading to the development of the first two policy statements identified as important to this study. That is, the 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum' produced by the Director General of Education, A.W. Jones in 1970, and the subsequent curriculum policy document entitled 'The Purposes of Schools' printed in 1971.

The focus of discussion that follows examines the malleable variables in play at the time of these policy developments, as they have been developed and detailed in chapters two and three. This will establish a basis for subsequent analysis of the policy processes and events. Such variables include,

- the internal and external policy stimuli, and the reaction of key actors to these.
- the political situation, and political influences.
- the interplay of power between policy actors and the organisational politics of the education system.
- the competing values that made up the ideologies of the day, and how these influenced policy direction.
- the political need for the inclusion of curriculum policies on the policy agenda.

The first part of this chapter contains a discussion of these issues, while the second and third sections examine more closely the forces in play that confirm or deny the literature on curriculum policy development processes.

4.1.1. Personalities and Politics: 'Prescription or Freedom?'

Interviews with Steinle and Jones confirmed that the 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum' was written by A.W. Jones as Director General of Education, and it was not the construct of any committee or deliberate process. Thus, those factors and circumstances that may have influenced the author became of particular significance to the study, and are reviewed in this section.

Information that follows comes from the available documentation on the period, other descriptions from earlier research relating to the document, speeches written and given by Jones and his predecessor, and finally through interviews with a number of actors relating to this period of time, including Jones.

Jones spent two years in 'apprenticeship' for the position of Director General of Education while Deputy Director General to Walker. As Walker was in a strong position to colour the outlook of Jones, their relationship deserves some attention.

Jones was extremely loyal to Walker, and in succession translated into policy many of the ideas which were gestating during these two years.

Contemporary writers described Walker as an autocrat who intended to make his mark in the two and a half years he served as Director General of Education before his retirement. He had energy, tenacity of purpose, and the courage of his convictions. Theile (1975) described him thus,

Walker was an autocrat and irascible Director,, though no-one could deny the vigour of his leadership. He reorganized the Department from six branches into five divisions. He introduced innovations such as the Research and Planning Branch, and the regular weekly Management Conference in which senior officers of the Department could hear proposals and discuss major policy. In these

respects he showed himself to be an able, dynamic and indeed, a far sighted administrator. It was in the area of human relationships that he was much less successful.¹

Jones was a member of the weekly Management Conference, which Walker introduced, and Barr describes as follows.

This (management Conference) was an attempt to adopt a more democratic approach to decision making, and to give each a chance to contribute to discussion on contemporary issues. However, Walker inevitably used the opportunity to make his views known from the chair. Since dissent was not welcomed, anyone who had a contrary opinion usually learnt that it was preferable to hold his tongue. Walker used the occasion to bring to the notice of a senior officer any breaches of omission or commission with which he was concerned. Thus, in front of the assembled group, an officer may be belittled or berated, as the case may be, to the embarrassment, both of himself, and also, of the group.²

Jones inherited this management structure, but adopted a very different style in using the group as a place for 'airing' a variety of ideas and opinions. Nevertheless, the 'management conference' remained a consultative body for the main part, rather than a policy decision making body, with the Director General continuing to write many of his own circulars and policy statements, allowing discussion of them, but ultimately making the final decision as to content.

Walker, like Jones who followed his lead, often gave early indication of his policy intentions through speeches delivered to service clubs, for example, in a speech to the Adelaide Rotary Club in his first year of office (1967)³, he made it clear that he felt the aim of developing each boy or girl to full stature as a person and as a member of society

¹ Theile, Colin. 1975, *op. cit*, p. 224.

² Barr, Trevor M. 1981, *A Biography of Albert Walter Jones*, Masters Thesis, University of New England, August, p. 135.

³ Walker, J. S. 1967b, *Speeches given to Adelaide Rotary Club*, held in the South Australian Education Department Staff Library at The Orphanage Teachers Centre.

was not being achieved. He claimed that schools were giving scant attention to the differing needs of each child, their different aptitudes and interests, as well as academic abilities.

Later (1968) Walker applauded the passing of the Intermediate Examination, advocating that further moves should be taken to move away from learning for examination purposes towards providing self learning situations.¹ The submission he made to the Karmel enquiry confirmed his stance on public examinations, and speeches given by both Walker and his deputy Jones to educators and the general public made their educational desires clear, without providing the means to make them happen.²

The views of Walker, including those of developing students in and for society, were in keeping with those of Jones, though it was left to Jones to find the pathway and conditions for traditional approaches to learning to be broken down. Jones' speeches over this period as Deputy Director General raised many of the same issues, but he made it very clear that he exercised delegated authority, and it was the Director General who accepted responsibility for decisions. The principle of delegation of authority later became the main strategy Jones employed to achieve the goal of preparing students for society as a prime purpose of schooling.

Walkers' educational outlook clearly influenced Jones, and the rhetoric of Walker during his period of leadership is well documented. Perhaps the most significant speech made by Walker was given in 1968 to open the Annual Conference of High School Headmasters. In this speech Walker expressed his desire to grant principals more freedom. This desire did not mesh comfortably with content or circulars issued during

¹ Walker, J.S. 1967a, *The Changing Face of Education in South Australian Teachers Journal*. vol. 19, no. 7, p. 6.

² Walker, J.S. 1967c, Address at opening of Daws Road High School in *The Education Gazette*, LXXXIV, 970. p. 10.

Walker's period of leadership. These circulars failed to express the same trust, as they firmly directed school curriculum in terms of content, time allocation, and direction. In this speech Walker told Headmasters that it had long been his aim

..... to give our Headmasters freedom in handling their own educational problems and making their own educational decisions. The abolition of the Intermediate P.E.B. [Public Examinations Board] Examination and a new deal for secondary education means that you are going to get educational freedom till it hurts - the old guide posts are down and you will be traversing unfamiliar territory.¹

Professor W.G. Walker, Professor of Education at the University of New England, in a series of talks given at educational conferences around Australia during 1968 was adopting a similar theme. He believed it was the duty of the employing authority to take the enthusiastic and well qualified teacher and *to recognize him as a professional and to leave him to practice his profession.*² The South Australian Institute of Teachers published a number of similar reports at the time through its newspaper *The South Australian Teachers' Journal*.

While J. Walker visited England during 1968, Jones acted as Director General. His speeches in this period continued to re-enforce the ideas Walker had expressed on numerous occasions.

We want teachers to be professionally free; we want them to have professional autonomy; but we must remember that professional autonomy and professional status are often used as mere slogans We want freedom for the teacher to mean that he will assume personal responsibility for his standards, for his behaviour and for the judgements he will make in the interests of the children

¹ Walker, J. S. 1968, *New Freedom in Secondary Education in South Australian Teachers' Journal*, vol. 20. no. 2, p. 3.

² Walker, W.G, 1968, *Quality Education - Australia can Afford It in South Australian Teachers Journal*. vol. 20. no. 8. p. 5.

he teaches, freedom to use and develop his talents on their behalf and freedom to experiment wisely in the classroom.¹

In summary, the philosophy and outlook of J. Walker, as expressed in speeches, became the rhetoric used by Jones. While the words of Walker relating to freedom and delegation were not matched by Walker's organisational practice, Jones took them seriously, and between 1970 and 1977 he established the necessary changes in educational climate and written policy to give schools far greater curriculum autonomy than ever before experienced in the State of South Australia.

4.1.2. Political Actors and Funding Considerations.

At the same time as J. Walker was hinting at necessary changes in approaches to student learning, there was a cry for greater Commonwealth involvement in Education. This had been minimal during the 1960s, as the costs appeared prohibitive; it would put to the test the delicate relationship between the State and Commonwealth in Education; and it would revive the denominational 'State-aid' issue once again.²

Both Walker and Jones were influenced by the political climate and changes taking place. Jones learnt to use the political setting to advantage, later becoming an actor in the Commonwealth Schools Commission³. At the level of state politics a series of changes of key personnel and policies influenced Jones in particular.

In June 1967 the Hon. D.A. Dunstan⁴ who had taken over Premiership from Walsh⁵, had received a deputation from the South Australian Institute of Teachers⁶ in

¹ Jones, A.W. 1968, Occasional Address at Diploma Granting Ceremony, 1st March in *South Australian Teachers' Journal*. vol. 20. no. 2 p. 16.

² Tannock, Peter, D. 1971, The Development of the Commonwealth Government's Role in Australian Education in *The Forum of Education*, vol. 30, no.2., p. 154.

³ The Commonwealth Schools Commission is an authority set up by the Commonwealth Government in 1973 to advise and make recommendations on primary and secondary education and priorities for it.

⁴ Don A. Dunstan was leader of the Labor Party, and Premier of South Australia from 1/6/67 - 17/4/68, and again from 2/6/70 - 15/2/79, See Appendix 'F'.

support of the claim for greater Commonwealth aid for Education. Dunstan was sympathetic to their list of issues, and promised support. However, by April 1968, his party was no longer in Government, and the Hall Liberal Government came to office, with J. Steele as the new Education Minister.

The issues raised by the Institute of Teachers were taken up by Dunstan in opposition, and became an integral part of the Labor Government educational platforms during the two intervening years prior to the re-election of the Dunstan Labor Government in South Australia in June 1970. Issues included 'equal opportunity' through education, greater autonomy to schools, complete training for all teachers, necessity to train mature age students, teacher's aides in schools, ancillary staff, care of handicapped children, and a wish to have formed a National Committee of Enquiry to investigate and report on the requirements of all levels of education throughout Australia. All these reforms required a greater financial input into Education.

The Karmel Committee of Enquiry into Education in South Australia was formed on January 29th, 1969 at the Direction of J. Steele, the Liberal Party Education Minister, who had a background and interest in at least one of the areas of concern to the Institute of Teachers - that of Special Education. The Karmel Committee took up this particular issue, and others raised by the South Australian Teachers' Institute, in his final report. The Karmel Committee at this time reported to the new Government, again under Dunstan. Jones became a key person in the implementation of these recommendations.

In the meanwhile the Commonwealth had begun to move into the areas of compulsory education by the way of grants for facilities and equipment in areas such as science and resource centres. The Commonwealth Minister of Education (The Hon. M.

⁵ **Frank M. Walsh** was leader of the Labor Party, and Premier of South Australia from 10/3/65 - 1/6/67, See Appendix 'F'.

⁶ **The South Australian Institute of Teachers** was the Industrial Union representing 85% of teachers in South Australia.

Fraser - Liberal) announced that the Commonwealth Government wished to reduce the differences in what was taught in the various states¹ hinting at the possibility of a Commonwealth initiated national curriculum.

Throughout Australia there was unrest concerning the state of the curriculum in schools. Arguments in South Australia about the abolition of the Intermediate Examination, the teaching of sex education in schools, and the lack of resources, had drawn the public into the debate, and the usually conservative Institute of Teachers in South Australia considered the processes it might use in holding its first ever teacher strike.² Barr writes,

*the generally held view by teachers' unions was that until the Commonwealth Government made it financially possible for the State Departments of Education to supply the buildings, personnel and equipment which was needed for teachers to have enough time to do their jobs to the best of their ability, the children in the schools would not receive their right to equal opportunity through Education.*³

The Australian Teacher Federation⁴ 'Education Down Under' conference held in Adelaide in June 1969, involving noteworthy speakers such as the Hon. G. Whitlam (Labor), the Hon. M. Fraser (Liberal), H. Schoenheimer, and Professor E. Russell, called for increases in Commonwealth grants to the States for Education, and more money from the States themselves. It also suggested a redirection of funds from private schools to state schools until such time as their needs were adequately met, and requested a national enquiry into education at all levels.

¹ *Education News*, Commonwealth Department of Education, vol. 11, no.11, p. 8.

² *South Australian Teachers Journal(s)*. 1969, - see lead articles Nos 17 - 26.

³ Barr, Trevor M. 1981, *op. cit*, p. 85.

⁴ The South Australian Institute of Teachers (the only teachers union in S.A.) was affiliated with the Australian Teachers Federation (ATF) - the national body representing teachers.

Jones at the time managed the capital works programme for the South Australian Education Department, and strongly supported this pressure for additional funds. He was sensitive to the South Australian Institute of Teachers' stand and perceived their more militant attitude as a useful assistance to the resourcing problems. Hence he developed a close interest in the Commonwealth activities at this time which eventually led to his involvement at a national level.

While the possibility of Commonwealth finance appeared on the horizon, local political movements were less promising. Steele was not seen as a forceful Cabinet Minister, and had proved inadequate in attaining an increased State Government contribution to education. She was outnumbered in cabinet by many of the conservative views belonging to politicians who still remembered the Playford¹ era. However, by the time Jones became the Director general of Education, there had been a change of Government, and H. Hudson became the Labor Minister of Education who understood the political climate and shared the vision of Jones.

In summary, the political climate was such that there was a significant cry from the electorate of the day, the South Australian Institute of Teachers, the academics, the Karmel Report, and the Labor Party in South Australia, for a greater Commonwealth financial input to introduce reforms that would provide more equal opportunities for students and address curriculum or resource concerns. Jones was alert to all these forces, and the influence additional finances would have on the State education system.

4.1.3. Curriculum Organisation - Prescription or delegated Freedom?

Despite the rhetoric of Director General Walker, and Jones, the situation at the end of the decade remained one of prescription and direction. In the late 1960s and early

¹ Sir Thomas Playford was Premier of South Australia for 27 years (1938 - 1965), and leader of the *Liberal and Country League*. Many critics saw his leadership as very conservative, with the major party achievement being the industrialisation of South Australia. (see the Concise 'Australian Encyclopedia'. 1983, Angus and Robertson).

1970s a number of circulars about curriculum were sent to schools. The Director General felt that these were necessary, as plans were a-foot to amalgamate High Schools and Technical High Schools. These circulars gave quite specific direction to schools on matters pertaining to curriculum and courses of instruction.¹

At this time, courses were being established through the agency of 'Departmental Advisory Boards', who identified needs, and used teams of writers to produce materials to meet those needs. The Director General usually heralded any new directions with a policy statement, often written by himself. Circulars 29/1967 and 24/1968 were attributed to the Director General, and were indicative of general beliefs about the need for core curriculum. These circulars provided a flow chart of common subject areas and electives, as well as identified general characteristics of the secondary school.

While courses were established through the Advisory Curriculum Boards, they were only undertaken with the approval of the Director General of Education. There was a high level of prescription. Circular 33/1968, for example, had a significant influence on how curriculum was organised in schools. It includes statements such as

The common subject areas English, Social Studies, Mathematics, Science, Art/Craft will allow for basic preparation for all subjects in the future; suitable electives in the form of foreign languages, additional Mathematics and Science, Geography, History, Commercial subjects, Music, Physical Education, and a variety of additional crafts make provision for individual needs and preferences. Students not taking Physical Education as an elective subject will have general experience in physical education, and Heads must ensure that 4.2 track syllabuses are converted into firm teaching programmes. A school's own teaching programme, its definition and layout of syllabuses capable of being expressed in detail and in operational terms needs to be clear cut and positive. The statement of aims should be clear and definite for each section of the programme.

¹ In particular, circulars 29/1967, 33/1968, 42/1969, and in the early 1970's circulars 3/1970, 4/1970, 4/1971, 18/1971, and 7/1972 (S.A. Ed. Dept.) make numerous statements that give clear directions to schools.

The circular continues on to give time allocations to each subject in the same prescriptive way.

This and other circulars from this period indicate that Education Department policies were stated in clear unequivocal terms. Directives were given relating to subjects and areas of study, time allocations, the use of grades, the 'tracking' system, and record keeping. Flexibility only existed in terms of the methods to achieve these aims. This was encouraged as the means of giving equal opportunity, and as a way of coping with the needs of the individual.

Circular 3 of February 1970 is also worth noting at this stage, as the Director General (J.S. Walker - who retired 28th February 1970) re-asserts his authority in curriculum matters given to him under the Education Act 1915 - 1971, where it is recorded that *'The Director General of Education shall determine courses of instruction for primary and secondary education in the public schools.'* The circular asserts, *'.....authority for school courses is with (the) Director General of Education under the Education Act. Some uncertainty exists over delegation of authority and procedures to be followed in connection with desired changes in school curriculum.'*

The circular continues to outline the Head-teachers' responsibility and authority with regard to the introduction of courses at various year levels reinforcing the notion of core curriculum.

In summary, the spoken rhetoric of Walker encouraged freedom amongst Head-teachers to develop curriculum. Yet the written rhetoric contradicts this. Walker continued to rigidly control curriculum policy right up to the day of his retirement. It remained for Jones to establish with the Government of the day the circumstances that would provide delegation to the schools and the professionals within them.

4.1.4. New Government and Changing Directions: The Hudson and Jones Condominium.

Shortly after Jones became Director General of Education in 1970, he gained the support of a new Minister of Education, H. Hudson, and took the bold initiative to develop and release a policy statement confirming the educational ideas of the day, giving Head-masters (later called Principals) freedom to develop their own courses, timetables, and activities, within the broad policy framework of the various divisions within the Education Department.

It was some two years since Walker had first promised 'freedom till it hurts'¹, and apart from that, little had been done in any practical way to demonstrate what it meant. The Minister of Education in the early weeks of Jones appointment as Director General of Education had been Mr J. Coumbe. He had been given the portfolio to undertake while still recuperating from a period of hospitalization. While Jones wanted to act on the concept of professional freedom for teachers, Coumbe was unsure. He did agree to Jones giving a series of addresses on the theme while visiting regional centres in the country, and an address to teachers in Whyalla (March 13th, 1970) made clear that Jones was quite serious about the professionalism and skills of teachers to manage in a very different climate to that of the late 1960s.

This period is of significant interest in terms of the later developments of the various 'purposes of schools' documents. The Hall Government had remained tenuously in office from 1968 to 1970 through the casting vote of the speaker (Hon. T.C. Scott). As there were rumours of an early election, the opposition named a Shadow Cabinet, with H. Hudson as the education spokesman. Hudson created an opportunity to criticise Steele's and Coumbe's handling of the Education portfolio, using as the subject of derision, a 44 page brochure about to be published on *What Our Schools are Doing*. Barr describes the situation as follows.

¹ Walker, J. S. 1968, op. cit, p. 3.

The booklet had been prepared by Walker with the encouragement of Minister Steele. It was not a new idea. In 1947 a publication with the same title was produced, and in 1958 a 40 page brochure Living and Learning was published along the same lines. In October 1969, the director general thought that a similar publication to those produced previously would properly inform the public of the many activities and services provided by the Education Department. It would be an attempt to counter some of the negative criticism about which Jones himself had been so vocal. Because of production difficulties, it was not able to be produced before Walker's retirement. The names and photographs of Coumbe and Jones then had to be inserted in lieu of Steele and Walker.

On the opening day of the fourth session of the thirty ninth parliament, Hudson claimed that the brochure did not face up to the difficulties within the system, and since the kind of expenditure which was necessary to get on top of problems was beyond the financial resources of the State, it was absolutely necessary to get Commonwealth aid directly into Government Primary and Secondary schools. Hudson wanted to know if the way to go about getting Commonwealth aid was to present a brochure which only showed the best of the facilities then in use.

*'Can anyone really suggest that we can convince those hard-headed moguls in Canberra of the necessity of granting aid to Government Schools if, encouraged by the Minister, we go about saying 'Look at what we have. Isn't it marvellous? Look at these beautiful photographs.'*¹

*Hudson was also critical of the cost of the publication, and the fact that children were to be used as part of the distribution system for getting booklets into homes throughout the State - booklets which he considered overtly political in nature, and which glossed over the deficiencies of the system which needed to be brought to the Commonwealth's attention.*²

Some 220,000 brochures were prepared costing \$26,500. The number was considered enough for the next five years. Five weeks later Hudson was Minister of

¹ *Hansard : Official Reports of the Parliamentary Debates*, Adelaide: Government Printer. April 28th, 1970.

² Barr, Trevor M. 1981, op. cit, p. 87.

Education when the Dunstan Labor Ministry was returned to power, and one of his first directions to Jones was to insist that the remaining unissued copies of *What Our Schools are Doing* be shredded. Documents already in schools were to be destroyed.

This action by Hudson influenced Jones' approach to the publication of 'The Purposes of Schools' document in 1971. Clearly a lengthy or glossy brochure would be an unlikely objective while Hudson was Minister of Education, and a simple duplicated A-4 page format was prepared to match the political climate. Further, it had been produced for Head-masters and their teachers, and not as a public document.

The relationship between Hudson and Jones deserves further comment. While the two worked effectively together as an educational condominium, their relationship began differently to that of other Ministers and Departmental Heads. While Jones offered his services to the Minister as his chief adviser, Hudson made it clear from the outset that he would get advice from wherever he might choose. Hudson had a strong belief that the person heading a large organization may not be well informed, as his directors may only communicate to him that which he wanted to hear. Jones claimed that this simply strengthened his resolve to spend a good deal of his time in schools so that he would have 'grass-roots' information as well as Directors' opinions. In his first year of office, Jones spent only 96 days in the Central Office. His visits to schools further convinced him of the professionalism of teachers, and the need for schools to develop curriculum appropriate to the needs of students.¹

In the first week after taking up office, Hudson spoke to a conference involving 250 members of the South Australian Institute of Teachers. He encouraged teachers to make their voice heard on educational matters and indicated that he would appreciate their direct input in the determination of priorities to be addressed. Jones had also called for this a few months earlier.

¹ interview with Jones, A.W. 4/10/88

Hudson made clear that he supported devolution of authority to those at the cutting edge of education, and hence decentralization. This view was later amplified by the Karmel Report, and implemented by Jones and Steinle. Further, Hudson called on the support of the South Australian Institute of Teachers in his attempt to break-through in Commonwealth financial assistance. Institute members appreciated this stance, which was akin to their own demands.

Jones, encouraged by the Institute's stand, prepared a draft document which would encourage Principals to accept greater responsibility for the management of their schools, and which, at the same time might suggest that Principals should give teachers more opportunities to have their voices heard. In its final format, it became known as the 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum'.

I wrote it one night at home - most of my writing was done at home. As I did with most of my writing, I gave it to Ken Barter (Director of Secondary Education) to polish. It was then presented to Management Conference for approval. One or two wanted to change things, but I didn't agree with many of the changes. For example, my words - 'You are in undisputed control of your schools' - were challenged by Max Bone. He did not like that. He was a disciple of Johnny Walker, and his method of operating was much the same.

After that, Ken Barter made several changes including the proviso 'within the policies of your division'. Then I showed it to Hugh Hudson, who may have changed one word. He agreed with the thrust, and offered the services of Ione Brown in the publicity and distribution. This was Hudson the shrewd politician, and Ione did a superb job. She got the timing right, and got it into the South Australian press, as well as the interstate lobbies. The publicity nationally exceeded that in South Australia, and every Professor of Education in Australia wanted a copy. Even the National Library wrote to me for a copy for their historical document section¹

¹ *ibid.*

The 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum' (1970), as drafted by Jones, moved the locus of control of curriculum from the central bureaucracy to the Principals of schools.

Within the broad framework of the Education Act, the general curriculum advised by the curriculum boards and approved by me as Director General of Education, and the general policy set by your Division and communicated to you by circular, you have the widest liberty to vary courses, to alter the timetable, to decide the organization of the school and government within the school, to experiment with teaching methods, assessment of student achievement and in extra-curricular activities.¹

Hudson and Jones brought about a less autocratic and less prescriptive approach to curriculum. Theile records² that Hudson wrote in a report seven months after taking office, *'we have continued to encourage innovation, flexibility, and open discussion'*. They had inherited a system that was rigid and status conscious, whereas they saw a need for sensitive support rather than prescription and demand. Hudson said of their new direction that there existed a *'central administration that was willing and able to act as a catalyst in situations where previously it had issued instructions'*.³

In summary, the 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum' was not a new discovery or even an original concept. It grew from ideas akin to the American reform movement of the 1960s and promulgated by Director General Walker in various speeches. However, his stance was difficult to take seriously, as the circulars and instructions of the day remained firm and unbending in their prescriptive orientation. Walker's leadership style certainly failed to give the impression that he was wedded to the notion of

¹ Jones, A. W. 1970, op. cit, p. 1 (full text Appendix L).

² Theile, Colin. 1975, op. cit, p. 226.

³ *ibid.*

autonomy of institutions, and the freedom of individuals to act as they saw fit in the interests of the children as clients in their care.

Jones on the other hand had the support of the Minister of Education, a Teachers' Institute seeking greater autonomy and professionalism at a school level, and a belief and trust in the members of his organization. He had the reassurance of the Karmel Report, the support of popular academic rhetoric of the day, and some indication of possible Commonwealth directions. The timing was right, and the document would set the mood which would prevail in Jones' time as Director General of Education. Ideas of trust, professionalism, and responsibility were put into action through the 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum.'

The Bulletin (1970) heralded the memorandum with the statement

*'The biggest change in ways of running Australian schools since the second half of the nineteenth century is about to be tried in South Australia. It does away with over-centralization that has been the distinctive curse of Australian Education.'*¹

The Australian (1970) included an article by H. Schoenheimer relating to the document, suggesting

*'..... it was not entirely accidental that in South Australia a newly elected Labor Government should feed down through the Department proposals for teachers to take powers and responsibilities, to re-make curriculum in schools, to look at their needs on the one hand, and at teachers and their capabilities on the other.'*²

¹ *The Bulletin*, 19/8/70.

² *The Australian*, 14/8/70, p. 3.

Jones vehemently denied then, as he still does today, that the move was politically inspired¹. While Hudson encouraged the document, and helped provide wide publicity for it, Jones felt strongly that its origin was with educational administrators, and was a projection of what he had come to believe about the needs of children. Nevertheless, with the social reforms of the Dunstan Government, and the release of the first Karmel Report, there is no doubt the document met both personal and political purposes. It was timely.

Kaminsky (1976), in an unpublished paper entitled 'The Freedom and Authority Memorandum: A Philosophical Addendum.' encapsulates the new direction for curriculum developments in South Australia.

*The memorandum was a landmark not so much for its originality as for its administrative courage. The memorandum represents a clear break with the Australian tradition of educational centralization and collectivism in favour of decentralization and individualism in organizational theory, style and practice.*²

J. Blackburn, generally recognised as the major author of the two Karmel Reports³, had this to say about the 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum'.

*Jones' 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum' probably came from this developing attitude of devolution of authority. He had talked with the Karmel committee, and in that sense caught some of the spirit of the coming recommendations, as did the Minister. It was going to be a more devolved system, but we would never have devolved it to Principals. In some ways this was a very good defensive move on his part.*⁴

¹ Interview with Jones, A.W. 4/10/88.

² Kaminsky, James. c. 1976, an unpublished paper entitled The Freedom and Authority Memorandum: A Philosophical Addendum. S.A. Ed. Dept. archives.

³ Karmel, Peter, H, chairperson, 1971, Report of the Committee of Enquiry into Education in South Australia 1969-1970, op.cit.

Karmel, Peter H, chairperson. 1973, Schools in Australia: Interim Committee for the Australian Schools Commission, op. cit.

⁴ Interview with Blackburn, Jean. 3/11/88.

The rhetoric of the late 1960s had grown to become part of Jones' personal philosophy. He was prepared to trust teachers to exercise freedom with wisdom and responsibility, and developed and promulgated a policy statement that allowed teachers and principals to take him seriously. The challenge had been issued.

The policy processes leading to the 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum' were very much dependent on the leadership of Jones, rather than more complex decision making processes. While not as autocratic as Walker in his use of the Departmental Management Committee, Jones presented the idea and the draft memorandum to them, tolerated some clear internal opposition, but proceeded with the policy.

4.1.5. Decision Making Processes: 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum'.

Jones possessed a broad perspective of the wider education system operating in Australia, and consulted, discussed, and collaborated with employees, colleagues, and politicians. However, he was impatient at delays, and was given to what Simon (1957) has described as 'satisficing' behaviour, or 'bounded rationality'.¹ He did not wait to gather all facts and carefully determine all courses which might be open and deliberately analyze what might be the most appropriate course of action. At times it was clear that his subordinates might have wanted more information before deciding on a course of action. Jones (like Simon) recognized the limits of the scope of decision making that individuals could make, since they might never be aware of all the factors, and so be unable to predict accurately the consequences. He preferred, therefore, to make decisions

¹ Simon, H.A. 1957, *Administrative Behaviour*, 2nd edition, New York: The MacMillan Company, p. xxiv.

March, J.G, & Simon, H.A. 1958, *Organizations*, New York: John Wiley and Sons, pp. 140-141.

Ham, Christopher & Hill, Michael. 1985, *op. cit*, p. 79.

based on his own keen perception of the situation, and on his own experience. Jones believed with Mouzelis, whom he quoted in speeches, that 'rationality is always limited'¹, and used an eclectic of the ideas of the day that appealed to him and had political support in determining policy directions for the South Australian Education Department.

Thus an early conclusion of this study was that the forces that established the curriculum policy encapsulated in the 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum' were as much associated with the personal beliefs of the Director General of Education, as any internal processes. These beliefs had been reinforced by the Institute of Teachers in their demands for recognition of the professionalism of teachers, the rhetoric of the academics of the time, the speeches made by the previous Director General, a supportive Minister of Education and political climate, and widespread support for the devolution of authority and responsibility. The time was right, and the philosophy was given credibility through the Director General's memorandum outlining clearly a policy that would change curriculum direction in South Australia over the next twenty years. The social and political context was supportive, and Director General Jones put in place the opportunity to develop curriculum reform.

***4.1.6. Securing Further Curriculum Reform: The 'Karmel Report.'* ² - an input from professional reformers.**

The 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum', while emerging from activities previously described, was strongly under-pinned by a review of the education system in South Australia, provided to Government in early 1971. As such its influence on curriculum direction and emerging policy needs further discussion here.

¹ Mouzelis, N.P. 1967, *Organisation and Bureaucracy*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, p 123.

² Karmel, Peter, H. chairperson, Feb. 1971, *op. cit.*

In the March 1968, Hall's Liberal Government swept to power. In the lead up to the elections, proposals to end the 'Intermediate Public Examination' in that year had been a significant and emotive issue, as many parents feared that it would effect the employment prospects of their children. The Hall Government had promised that if elected, they would institute a full enquiry into all aspects of education. This was done (but only after the Intermediate examination had been abolished), and on the 29th of January, 1969, the Minister of Education, The Hon. J. Steele, appointed a committee to examine, report, and make recommendations on the education system of the State of South Australia. One of the three terms of reference included a review of curricula and teaching methods, while the others dealt with organizational and resourcing matters.

The Director General of Education (Walker) did not welcome the enquiry. Jones comments as follows

He saw the enquiry as reflecting adversely on his management of the Education Department, even though he had been in office as Director General for less than two years. If anyone was to enquire into his Department, he believed he should do it as Wyndham had done in New South Wales and Dettman to some extent in Western Australia.¹

Barr (1981) describes Walkers' stance in the following way.

When the matter (examination of the State's education situation) was raised with Walker, he was violently opposed. He considered that he was principal adviser to the Minister, and better able than a committee to indicate to the Government the needs of the State's education system. Steele regarded Walker as a person of great ability and one who was dedicated to education, but he was one who wanted things done his own way. Many arguments between Minister and Permanent Head resulted. The Minister had to remind Walker that her 'name was not Steele for nothing', and eventually he had to agree to the enquiry.²

¹ Jones, A.W. 1980, op. cit.

² Barr, Trevor M. 1981, op. cit, p. 135.

The debate (relating to the need for enquiry and as to whom should be conducting it) between Director General and the Government of the day, led to the appointment of Peter Karmel, Vice Chancellor of Flinders' University, as the enquiry chair-person. Karmel's appointment gave the enquiry greater educational status than initially envisaged by Government, who had anticipated using a business leader¹. While Walker was unsuccessful in having Education Department people on the committee, a group of very able people were selected - the Hon. Justice R. Mitchell of the Supreme Court of South Australia, Professor S.S. Dunn, Professor of Education from Monash University (a former South Australian), Dr W.C. Radford (the Director of the Australian Council for Educational Research), and Mr I.S.D. Hayward, a South Australian businessman.

The Committee of Enquiry took an unprecedented step in spending some considerable time in debating the very purposes of schools, devoting a whole chapter of its final report to this issue. It begins the chapter as follows.

No educational system stands apart from the society which establishes it. It has purposes that must be achieved if that society is to continue. It is embedded in that society, drawing nourishment from it and in turn contributing to its opportunities for growth and renewal. The establishment of the purposes of its educational institutions, and a constant vigil over both their relevance and their realization, ought to be one of the continuing activities of a society concerned with the present well-being of all its members and with its own steady improvement.²

The Karmel Report goes on to suggest a whole range of purposes for schools. Some relate to the preparation for employment, some to scholarship and the acquisition of knowledge, while others relate to personal satisfaction and self image. In each case, the social context in which schools operate is considered first, and the implications of the

¹ Interviews with A.W. Jones, Colin Theile, and Jean Blackburn all confirmed this information.

² Karmel, Peter, H. chairperson, 1971, op. cit, p. 25.

context and practises lead to recommendations in later chapters of the Karmel Report. The Report suggests that organization, curricula, and methods should not be static, but reflect an appreciation of the society in which schools operate.

When the report was released in 1971 it reported to a different political party to that which established the enquiry, to a different Minister of Education (Hudson), and to a new Director General of Education (Jones) The report made a number of recommendations that were to influence curriculum pathways and organisational structures in South Australia.

Four significant changes in curriculum policy direction began to emerge from the Karmel Report itself.

- (a) encouragement of greater diversity by giving individual schools greater responsibilities, and by encouraging them to experiment with various forms of organisation, curricula, and teaching methods.¹
- (b) decentralisation of decision making.²
- (c) the suggestion that there needed to be a greater understanding of the purposes of schooling, and the context within which schools operate.³
- (d) the formation of various curriculum advisory boards.⁴

The Karmel Report, accepted in its entirety by cabinet, became the motivating influence over curriculum policy proposals for the next decade. The immediate visible response was the development of an Education Department document (written by the newly appointed Deputy Director General - Mr J Steinle) called "The Purposes of

¹ *ibid*, Section 19.29, p. 538.

² *ibid*, Section 19.30, p. 539.

³ *ibid*, Sections 19.33 and 19.34 , p. 541.

⁴ *ibid*, Section 19.32, p. 540.

Schools' and published in 1971. This A-4 page circular later became the basis of the development of a series of policy iterations culminating in a major curriculum policy document of 1981 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes.'

In South Australia the responsibility for curriculum was (and still is) vested in the Director General of Education, and not the Minister of Education. Hence, to alter Departmental curriculum policies, either agenda setters needed to convince the Director General of Education of the importance of the issues that demanded change - or the Director General himself needed to recognize the issues and create the agenda. These two policy influences were not independent of each other, and both influences can be identified at various stages over the period 1968 to 1981, as curriculum policy development became an important re-occurring agenda item.

In 1971, the State Government endorsed the recommendations of the Karmel Report, including the recommendation that the South Australian education Department clearly articulate its purposes. Thus the initial catalyst for the first of the series of documents relating to the purposes of schools was political in origin.

The Karmel Report had identified six qualities of a good education system.¹

1. A non-authoritarian approach;
2. A concern for the individual child;
3. The equality of educational opportunities;
4. A diversity of educational institutions;
5. A decentralization of decision-making;
6. The opening up of the educational system to a variety of ideas.

¹ *ibid*, 19.25, p. 537.

This set of values influenced the educational decision makers and the gate-keepers for the next decade, with the Karmel Committee becoming the unseen actor in establishing issues for the policy agenda. The Karmel Report states,

The Director-General of Education should, in our view, be responsible for ensuring that schools under his jurisdiction achieve the purposes for which they are established. Curricula and teaching methods, interpreted and used by teachers, are the means by which this responsibility is borne..... The moves made in recent years away from central prescription, and towards giving more initiative to the schools themselves, seem to recognize this difference between central responsibility for ends and the widest possible dispersion of responsibility for means.¹

For any Director General of Education to meet such a responsibility, the objectives of schooling needed first to be articulated. The Karmel Report had already provided a set of ideas and Jones placed the issue on his agenda for attention.

In 1970, when the issue of school purposes first became significant in the setting of a policy agenda there were three different State Ministers of Education; there was a change of State Government; parts of the Karmel Report were made known to policy makers; a new Director General of Education was appointed (Jones); and the Freedom and Authority Memorandum was issued.²

The new Director-General of Education was quick to take direction from the drafts of the Karmel Report. Jones records the following,

.....the 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum' was included in full in the (final) Karmel Report which says in 17.42, 'the Memorandum is in full accord with the thinking of the Committee'. So while the Karmel Report is the authority on which policy changes in the period are based, the 'Freedom and Authority

¹ *ibid*, 18.29, p. 513.

² Jones, A. W. 1970, *op. cit.*

Memorandum' provides the motivating spirit for changes; extracts for both were frequently quoted in support of minutes seeking changes. Karmel gave detailed reasoning for change, the Memorandum expressed the sentiment that persuaded others that they wanted to change.¹

The Karmel Report recommended that the purposes of South Australian schools be articulated. Jones appointed a group of officers to draft a statement. O'Brien, who was Director of Curriculum from 1977, and a member of this committee, reflected on this period during an interview, making the following comments.

A committee was formed to develop 'The Purposes of Schools' statement, and this was chaired by Mr Noel Wilson who had recently joined the South Australian Education Department from the 'Australian Council for Educational Research'. He had a number of educational and philosophical reservations about the need for such a document, and the small committee did not achieve. Jones got annoyed at the delays, and asked the newly appointed Deputy Director General, John Steinle, to accept responsibility for producing the statement. John Steinle actually produced the first draft of the one page document²

Discussions with Steinle (interviews of 30/3/88 and 3/11/88) indicated that he, as Deputy Director General of Education, had been given just 48 hours to write up what he believed the purposes of schools to be. He was fortunate in finding several recent research documents (American) on the subject, and took these and the Karmel Report to modify ideas for the South Australian setting. The following transcript taken from an interview with Steinle gives a clear picture of events leading to the first policy paper 'The Purpose of Schools (1971).

The original statement of values in the Karmel Report, which was written by Bill Radford, is a straight snip from the Princeton work on the aims for the Pennsylvania system. When the Karmel Report was tabled, Alby Jones went through it, and had it broken down into all the recommendations - these were kept

¹ Jones, A.W. 1978, op. cit, p. 1.

² Interview with O'Brien, Maurice (former Director of Curriculum) 1/3/88.

in his case, and he ticked them off as they were implemented. He was meticulous in carrying out this task for 68 of the 69 recommendations (he was opposed to the one suggesting a committee to advise the Minister of Education).

Alby managed to reduce the list to half a dozen or so items. Those remaining were 'too hard'. Amongst these were 'the purposes of education'. He sent Noel Wilson to Raywood for a week to undertake the task. Roy Smallacombe went with him, along with others from the curriculum directorate. The matter became a stalemate between Noel and Roy. Noel had come up with a prioritized aims approach akin to Bloom's taxonomy of Educational objectives. Wilson quite rightly wanted a comprehensive approach, while Smallacombe wanted 20 simple statements of aims. The point the Karmel Report stressed in chapter three highlighted that the aims should be for South Australian schools, and Noel saw it as a chance to develop a comprehensive taxonomy.

When the committee did not achieve what was wanted, I was asked to go away and 'fix it'. The only way I could see that was appropriate without involving personalities, was to take Karmel's chapter, and break it up into its elements, and then transfer these to the South Australian context. I did that, and it was passed through the Senior executive. It was chopped around a little, but it survived.¹

In summary, 'The Purposes of Schools' document emerged as the policy of the Education Department that set the parameters for the 'freedom and authority' offered to schools. It was written by an individual (Steinle) when a committee approach failed to achieve, and was a direct response to a recommendation of the Karmel Report, that the South Australian Education Department should articulate its purposes.

The processes and outcomes are consistent with the thinking of Moynihan² described in the previous chapter, suggesting that we should not dismiss the professionalism of reform. He highlights that many changes occur through initiatives undertaken by persons whose profession is to do just that. He believes that where

¹ Interview with Steinle, John R. (former Director General of Education) 3/11/88.

² Moynihan, D.P. 1973) op. cit, p. 545.

change is seen as desirable by someone or some group in a position of influence, policy development follows. This idea is mirrored in the development of 'The Purposes of Schools.' (1971), which was approved by the Departmental Policy committee and published as a charter for schools in 1971 to help them interpret their purposes.

4.2. Literature and 'The Purposes of Schools'.

From the literature relating to why an issue should become part of a policy 'agenda setting', Hogwood and Gunn¹ note that an issue is most likely to arise and become an agenda item, if one or more of the following conditions exist.

- (a) the issue has reached crisis proportions.
- (b) the issue has reached particularity (exemplifies larger issues).
- (c) the issue has an emotive aspect.
- (d) the issue seems likely to have wide impact.
- (e) the issue raises questions about power and legitimacy in society.
- (f) the issue is fashionable in some way.

It is now possible in light of preceding discussion in this chapter to reflect on these conditions as they relate to 'The Purposes of Schools'.

In addition to a satisfactory political climate within South Australia, a new and cooperative Director General of Education, and the Karmel Report recommending the spelling out of the purposes of schools as a prelude to evaluation, other matters further reinforced the need for the issue of the purposes of schooling as a policy agenda item.

While the Karmel Report was instituted by the Hall Liberal Government in 1968, its findings were consistent with the social policies of the Labor party formulated during

¹ Hogwood and Gunn. 1984, *op. cit*, 5.1 - 5.7, pp. 67 - 85.

1967 to 1970, and legislated during the Premiership of Dunstan from 1970 to 1979. Dunstan was a lawyer, actor, and scholar, who while endeavouring to diversify the economy proved to be concerned with quality of life and individual liberty, as well as electoral reform.¹ The report matched the reforms already part of the Labor party platforms.

The issue of the purposes of schools first became an agenda item in 1970 as an outcome of a number of factors. Firstly, pre election promises to review education met emotive needs, and discussion on purposes was fashionable in terms of the common rhetoric of academics, educators, and other professional reformers.

Secondly, the new Government and Director General had an opportunity to change the direction of schooling. Jones desired to change the curriculum power base from a centralized system to a decentralized one. The likely impact would be widespread, and to some degree Jones could argue knowing he had the support of the Karmel Report and the politicians, that this was a response to crisis - at least in terms of the financial needs of schools, and the need for greater Commonwealth funding.

Thirdly there was an emotive need to make schooling more relevant to maintain stability in society. Pre-election rhetoric recorded in the *Adelaide Advertiser* raised issues such as the desirability of sex education and politics becoming areas of the school curriculum. As recorded earlier, the abolition of public exams was another emotive and real issue at the time. The public wanted to know what schools were planning.

Finally, the new Labor Government's orientation towards social reform also begged the question of the power and legitimacy within the existing curriculum structures. Issues such as equal opportunities and social justice demanded a reappraisal

¹ Blewett, Neal and Jaensch, Dean. 1971, *Playford to Dunstan*, Cheshire, Melbourne, p. 10.

within the school curriculum, and new strategies to achieve a more egalitarian society were seen by Government as desirable.

In brief, all the factors cited by Hogwood and Gunn (1984) as conditions favourable to have an item placed on the policy agenda were present, affirming his analysis of agenda setting conditions. Following the publication of the Karmel Report, Jones took positive steps to develop policies on the very purposes of schools.

4.3. Policy Processes - filtering the issues to determine the purposes of schools.

Stage two of Hogwood and Gunn's model of policy analysis, looks at Issue Filtration, or 'deciding how to decide' which policy approach is necessary and desirable in addressing an issue¹. Different authors use different terminology to describe the process of issue filtration. Elboim-Dror (1968)² calls this 'meta-policy-making', Simon (1957)³ - the division of decisions into 'programmable' and 'non-programmable' categories, and Lindblom (1959, 1968, 1979)⁴ calls it 'choice among policy-making methods', and indicates that some issues may be suited to 'strategic analysis', while others can be left to 'simple' or 'disjointed' incrementalism. Etzioni (1967)⁵ calls for an approach to decision making, which he calls 'mixed scanning', with special problem areas being subjected to more detailed scanning.

¹ Hogwood and Gunn. 1984, op. cit, 6.1 - 6.4, pp. 88 - 99.

² Elboim - Dror, R. 1968, op. cit, pp. 241 - 244.

³ Simon, H.A. 1957, op. cit, pp. 69 - 78.

⁴ Lindblom, C.E. 1959, op. cit.

Lindblom, C.E. 1968, *The Policy Making Process*, Prentice-Hall, New York.

Lindblom, C.E. 1979, *Still Muddling, Not Yet Through*, *Public Administration Review*, No 39.

⁵ Etzioni, A. 1967, *Mixed Scanning: A 'third' Approach to Decision Making*, *Public Administration Review* no. 27.

Whatever this stage of the policy making process is called, the question of interest to this study is how appropriate was the method used in the development of the 'The Purposes of Schools' document?

Apart from the work of Wiseman (1978)¹ on 'the selection of major planning issues', very few writers have established criteria for the suitability of different issues for different degrees or forms of analysis. Wiseman contends that the issue context, characteristics, and likely repercussions are important considerations, as well as costs to undertake analysis and actions, in determining the next phase of policy development.

This section looks more closely at the period discussed to determine the appropriateness of the policy development process used to establish 'The Purposes of Schools' document.

In 1970, the issue of the purposes of schools emerged in the context of the Karmel Report, and the 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum'. There was a need for a statement of purposes as a matter of some urgency, if schools were to use the invitation of the Director General, Jones, to '*vary courses, alter the timetable, decide on the organization of the school, experiment with teaching methods, determine assessment methods*'² within the framework of policies set by Divisions. Without such a framework, the Director General could not meet his curriculum responsibilities described in the Education Act.

The appointment of a small committee and a researcher in 1970 to undertake a limited analytical view of the South Australian context and world-wide educational trends

¹ Wiseman, C. 1978, Selection of Major Planning Issues, in *Policy Sciences* no. 9

² Jones, A. W. 1970, *op. cit.*

and to produce a policy statement, was appropriate in this context. The Karmel Report had already given the historical basis for curriculum developments in the state of South Australia, and assumed a value position deemed appropriate for the South Australian scene.¹ His report had received the support of Cabinet, and hence the organization of a policy position appeared a simple matter.

However, the researcher (N. Wilson), when given the task of articulating purposes wished to go beyond the value position of the Karmel Report, and his personal value system came into conflict with the appointed committee and ultimately the Director General of Education.² The Director General required a clear statement of purposes that would allow him to fulfil his legal obligation, establish parameters for school based curriculum developments, and be an illumination or charter for schools. He felt any discussion necessary was more than adequately covered by the work of the Karmel Report to Government.

Hence, when the committee failed to realize an outcome, Steinle (newly appointed Deputy Director General) constructed a one page statement which was given approval by the Departmental policy committee, and published early in 1971.

It was this action that set the stage for an incremental process of curriculum policy decision making in South Australia. The ten article statement allowed the system to move tentatively from policy issues to policy statements, and from its experiences proceed to a more elaborate statement of purposes.

Further, it reduced the need for a costly analysis in an area where wide ranging value systems could exacerbate relationships between contending groups of educators

¹ Karmel, Peter, H. Chairperson, 1971, *op. cit.*, pp. 5 - 44.

² Interviews with O'Brien, M. 1/3/88 and Steinle, J.R. 3/11/88.

and stakeholders. Fundamental questions as to whether education systems should lead society or follow its dictates were never addressed, as the Karmel Report had already assumed that purposes were clearly to improve society, devoting commentary to equality of opportunity for all. The political idealism of the Karmel Report to build more egalitarian communities was assumed, rather than tested against the strong desire of many interests to maintain a stratified society.

As the issue of the purposes of schools was central to the existence of any education department, it could have reasonably been expected that the issue would therefore be eminently suited to close and detailed analysis, with a comprehensive approach to policy formation. Not only would it be a charter for the South Australian Education Department, but it would bring together many strands of policy, and would be likely to have long-term implications and widespread ramifications.

The issue was complex, as it was value and context laden, and provided a number of choices of direction. It was therefore unlikely to be adequately resolved by any processes seeking consensus. As there was a high level of uncertainty about outcomes, and the area of consideration was one that all people appeared to have some thoughts to contribute, it clearly deserved far greater analysis than the initial 1970-1 approach offered. However, Jones gave much higher priority to devolving the responsibility for curriculum reform to the practitioners in schools, and did not see the need for a lengthy consultative process.

Hogwood and Gunn (1984)¹ suggested one way of deciding whether or not more synoptic approaches should be used for policy making, was to pass the issues through a 'decision tree' as a filter. That is, use a preliminary test through which any issue must pass (gateways) before subjecting it to more detailed filters to determine the best way to

¹ *op. cit.*, pp. 104 - 106.

approach decision making. A fragment of a typical tree was shown in figure 2.2 (chapter two).

If we apply this tree to the issue of 'purposes of schools', we see that Hogwood and Gunn would suggest this issue as unsuitable for analysis. While time to undertake a detailed analysis seemed ample when the issue first emerged for consideration in 1970, the issue failed to pass the 'gateways' of the filter referring to 'values', 'politics', and 'pre-conceived positions'. As such, Hogwood and Gunn would suggest that 'normal' decision making strategies as applied in the development of 'The Purposes of Schools' were probably more appropriate than 'ideal'. Hence the analysis of Hogwood and Gunn is applicable to the approach used by Jones.

The first document relating to the purposes of schools ended up being symbolic rather than utilitarian. Jones could 'tick it off the list' of tasks to be completed arising from the Karmel Report. The printed outcome was never considered to be of sufficient importance to be debated or even mentioned in the journal of the South Australian Teachers Institute. Schools receiving the unheralded duplicated policy page generally filed the document rather than use it to develop curriculum. Jones himself acknowledged this in articles written in the mid 1970s.¹

The political approval for the Karmel Report recommendations, and the urgent need for parameters to define the boundaries of the 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum', had elevated the issue of the purposes of schooling to the policy agenda. The policy development processes received scant attention, with conflict avoidance being a feature following the emergence of different philosophies amongst committee members chosen to develop a document. A committee of 'one', met the political need to have such a document, and the final outcome in 1971 failed to assume any great import

¹ Jones, A.W. 1978, *op.cit*, p. 18.

within the education system itself. The Director General, Jones, continued to give emphasis to his 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum', while 'The Purposes of Schools' document met the political need to have such a statement rather than satisfy schools by providing a structure for professional reform.

4.3.1. The place of values in determining ideologies and the purposes of schooling.

This chapter would be incomplete if it totally ignored the malleable variable of values, especially as the very purposes of schools are a reflection of expressed system values.

Professor Karmel and his review team began by examining the important characteristics of society, for schools were 'embedded in society', and each of the characteristics discovered would effect the purposes of schooling to some degree.

The Karmel Report¹ promotes discussion about society and its values, with conclusions which would help establish the purposes of schooling. The values contained in the purposes envisaged for schools by 'the Karmel Report' are examined and analyzed in some detail in chapter nine of this study, and this brief section simply summarises the matters of importance emerging in the early 1970s.

The Karmel Report saw students joining society as a mature citizens with several separate but related skills. These would include those associated with vocation, those associated with the person's membership of groups within the community (citizenship), and those relating to personal interests. Schooling it was argued would make such purposes more attainable.

¹ Karmel, Peter, H. chairperson, 1971 op. cit, pp. 5 - 44.

The focus of the Karmel Report was 'to maximize the personal development of each individual child'. This value statement related to the development of the individual and was further amplified in the Karmel Report¹, where the matter of equality of opportunity was canvassed at length.

The model emphasized began from the position of 'deficit', and it was aimed at removing or 'compensating' for inequalities amongst students, rather than support an approach that fostered the achievement of the potential of each individual. The 'catch up' or 'compensatory' approach was an advance on the philosophy of the 1960s which usually resulted in students being categorized into 'able' or 'unable' by the 'tracking' or courses they undertook in South Australian schools. '*..... the original intention was to provide courses in different tracks, but in practice the tendency was to track students.....*'²

The approach of the Karmel Report was to make facilities 'more equal' and to provide additional resources in the way of greater recurrent funding for better staffing and equipment for those students with a physical or intellectual handicap. It also emphasised better counselling services to help fit the disadvantaged into the work force.

In summary, the Karmel Report concluded that schools must prepare pupils for their future as well as equip them for participation in the world about them. Thus the Karmel Report suggested that the school atmosphere should reflect (to the extent that it is possible in a community of teachers and taught) the interpersonal relationships that were thought desirable in a society. The values governing the organization of the school, and the behaviour of the people in it, needed to be those that contributed to society not averse to change and prepared for it to be evolutionary rather than revolutionary.

¹ Karmel, Peter, H. chairperson, 1971op. cit., Chptr 14.

² Education Department Circular 28:1975, Ed Dept Archives.

The Report noted and supported issues such as the growing trend across Australia to give teachers greater freedom than they currently held to devise their own curricula within broadly devised common objectives,¹ and to organize their schools and methods of teaching in ways they believed to be in the best interests of their students.

The Karmel Report suggested that decentralization of decision making would produce a climate more favourable to these developments, as had the 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum'. The Karmel committee was critical of the Education Department's strong sense of hierarchy, and its pressure towards uniformity and conformity, and fully endorsed the Jones Memorandum which departed radically from established practice. It pointed out that the Education Department's lofty aspirations conflicted with its own restrictive regulations and practices. Because of entrenched practices it was unlikely that many schools would follow the lead of Jones.²

In summary, six values came to be amplified by the Karmel Report as desirable qualities for the South Australian Education Department; a non-authoritarian approach to educational matters; a concern for the individual child; equality of educational opportunities; a diversity of educational institutions; a decentralization of decision making; and the opening up of the educational system to a variety of ideas.³

These values seen as desirable by Karmel, reflected the rhetoric of the American Educational Reform unit⁴, the speeches of Walker and Jones, and the social policies of

¹ *ibid*, p. 503.

² *ibid*, pp. 500 - 505; pp. 533-534.

³ *ibid*, p. 537; p. 2.

⁴ **Report of the Curriculum Development Centre, 1974, Canberra, National Workshop, April,**

UNESCO Committee for Education Report. 1974, Australia in the World of Education Today and Tomorrow, Canberra: (Australian National Commission for Unesco).

the Labor Government which returned to power in 1970. While 'values' were a malleable variable in possible policy development, the values developed in the Karmel Report were accepted by policy actors with a minimum of public debate, and became widely accepted and further developed by educators during the 1970s.¹

4.3.2. Issue definition, and the structural and internal political influences - a democracy or an autocracy?

In a sense the curriculum decision making processes in the Education Department of South Australia over the period of this study could be described as political, for *'politics is not only the art of guiding the use of legitimized force but is also the art of promoting and synthesizing the differences.'*²

Burns (1971) described the interactions between interested individuals, the groups, and the system as 'political', even though not allied to any party politics. He said *'Every organization is a scene of 'political' activity in which individuals and departments compete and co-operate for power.'*³

As outlined within the previous section, the values emerging from the context in which schools operated in a democracy were wide ranging. Every parent of a school going child had some desired outcome from schooling for that child, often reflecting the values of the parent, rather than declared values of an education system.

The original 'The Purposes of Schools' statement was developed as a compromise process. 'The Freedom and Authority Memorandum' had given power to school Heads and teachers to develop their own curriculum and timetables within the constraints of

¹ further discussion on the values arrived at in the Karmel Report have been included in chapter nine.

² Silvert, K. 1970, op. cit, pp. 161 - 162.

³ Burns, T. 1971, in Pugh, D.S, et al. 1971, op. cit, p. 47.

Departmental policy. 'The Purposes of Schools' statement established values from which Principals could develop their own objectives, and curriculum to meet those objectives.

Jones' understanding of power was similar to that described by Silvert. Silvert asserts that *'Power should shed its meaning related to the imposition of will, and assume the broader meaning of having to do with increasing man's ability to control the consequences of choice.'*¹ Jones believed it was his role to implement Government decisions applied to curriculum where he held legislated authority.² As Director General of Education he could influence the consequences of the decision by timing the implementation, and by publicizing the decision with all the resources available to the Education Department.

This behaviour was also used by Steinle as Director General of Education in 1981, when he delayed the release of 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' until a short while after the national core curriculum for Australian schools statement³, thus redirecting interest from the national document to the South Australian policy.

In this sense, the chief executive officer, (Walker, Jones, or Steinle in this study), exercised power through the implementation, timing, and publicizing of decisions. They did *'not confine themselves to a technocratic politics of the possible. Their world is that of the politics of the ever expanding desirable.'*⁴

This process went on in the Education Department, just as it did in cabinet, in the party room, or the wider political sphere. Jones used the elements of justice, welfare, and

1 Silvert, K. 1970, op. cit., p. 47.

2 Interview with Jones, A.W. 4th October 1988.

3 Minutes of the conference of Central Office and Regional Directors (CORD, 25th Feb, 1981, held in the Convention Centre, S.A, Ed Dept.

4 Silvert, K, op. cit. p. 162.

freedom in the education of children as his personal touchstone to test each decision. While 'the best interests of children' were his prime consideration during his period as Director General of Education, various actors had wide-ranging ideas as to what these interests were.

The issue of curriculum, while theoretically the responsibility of the Director General, was also a political issue involving divided opinions in the community, requiring answers in parliament, and discussions in cabinet and caucus. It needed a government policy for the state, and hence matters such as sex education in schools became a direct concern for the Minister of Education, who set up a health committee to make recommendations to him (through the Director General). Establishing universal values with so many actors was problematic, and the complexity of determining acceptable values became more acute towards the end of the decade.

Jones believed fundamentally that society had set up schools so that it would survive, and its language, culture and customs continue. It would regenerate itself by the development of the young, who would bring about changes with the growing knowledge and attitudes to life, to their culture and faiths and to those of different race and culture. For these reasons he believed that despite some disenchantment with education as an economic investment, the body politic and parliament kept a close watch on education department decision making, not only in the use of public funds, but in decisions on curriculum, its advocacy of lifestyles, and its treatment of controversial issues.¹

Professor Karmel, and other academics of the time agreed that the regeneration of society was one function of education, but not the sole function. Steinle, in the 1971 document 'The Purposes of Schools' saw far broader egalitarian purposes. Revised

¹ Jones, A.W. c. 1979 Policy Making in A State Department of Education. An unpublished paper delivered to New England University, p. 3.

versions also reflected this view of society, advocating goals such as justice, welfare, freedom for all, knowledge skills, understanding and full employment.

Within the South Australian Education Department, each Director General appointed during the period of this study established both formal and informal processes of policy development, which recognized the relationship between the government of the day, departmental bureaucrats, and policy users.

In 1967 when Walker succeeded Mander-Jones as Director General of Education, he reorganized the decision making structure of the Education Department within a matter of months. In a scheme which became operative on the 14th December, 1967, the six branches were swept away and replaced by five Divisions, each headed by a Director with policy development responsibilities. These Divisions were Primary, Secondary, Technical, Teacher Education and Services, and Administration and Finance.

A weekly Management Conference was introduced, and this was seen as a welcome move towards more democratic decision making. As discussed earlier in this paper, it turned out to be anything but this under Walker, who determined most policy for himself, and used the Management Conference to tell others of the decision.

Jones used the committee differently. He states,

The officers involved in Management Conference represented a wealth of opinion and information from each of their directorates, and the Director General could assess the validity, test the strength, judge the relevance of each contribution in influencing the final decision, which for the most part was by consensus.¹

¹ Jones, A.W. c. 1979 op. cit, p. 12.

Jones, did not see Management Conference as a decision making or policy development committee. This privilege remained with the Director General of Education, and hence the major function of the Management Conference was advisory. While Jones was aware of various models of decision making, and agreed with a major thrust of the Karmel Report suggesting more democratic leadership, he expected the Divisional Directors to develop proposals for discussion, albeit for his ultimate approval or disapproval.

The approach taken to policy development by Jones appeared to follow the ideas of Litchfield (1956).¹ For Jones this meant recognition of an issue, investigation of some alternatives, costing solutions, discussing with relevant influence groups, selection from alternatives, communication and formulation of the decision, and implementing it. Incremental changes were possible following an informal evaluation of policies in action.

Jones used the informal network in reaching decisions in a conscious effort to balance the influence of contributing groups. He was aware of the need to meet political expectations, and to this end he introduced an annual activity called a 'Summit Meeting'.² It was a procedure developed to give the Minister of Education, the formalizer of decisions affecting teachers, the opportunity to learn the characteristics of the formulator of policy and decisions, through informal discussions, and it allowed Jones to predict likely policy difficulties.

In summary, the autocratic procedures generally practised by Director General Walker in decision and policy processes had been replaced by a more consultative

¹ Litchfield, E.H. 1956, *Notes on a General Theory of Administration in Administration Science Quarterly*, Cornell University, New York June, pp. 3 -29.

² While it had no direct policy role, the 'Summit Conference' did influence future policy by the very nature of its operation, for it brought together key actors in the education process. This included the Minister of Education, and about ten selected Education Department senior officers, and ten members from the South Australian Institute of Teachers

approach by Jones. Jones structures allowed for initiative to be taken within the Divisions, but major policy initiatives were presented to the Management Conference. Jones still made most policy decisions himself, and wrote many of his own memoranda to schools. The climate was one of a guided democracy.

4.4. 1968-1971 in reflection.

The 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum' grew from ideas akin to the American reform movement of the 1960s and promulgated by Director General Walker and his Deputy Jones, as they spoke about the need for principals and teachers to accept greater professional responsibility. The ideas remained as rhetoric as the leadership style of Walker failed to give the impression that he was wedded to the notion of autonomy of institutions, or the freedom of individuals to act as they saw fit in the areas of curriculum in each school. The instructions he issued remained firm and unbending until his retirement.

By the time Jones became Director General of Education, the political climate was such that there was a significant cry from the electorate of the day, the South Australian Institute of Teachers, the academics around Australia, the Karmel enquiry into education in South Australia, and the Labor party in South Australia, for a greater Commonwealth financial input to allow reforms that would provide more equal opportunities for students, and to address curriculum concerns. These ideas were consistent with ideas of delegation and freedom to decide curriculum options and courses of instruction at the school level - ideas of trust, professionalism, and responsibility. Jones was able to put these ideas into action through his policy statement entitled the 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum.'

Further, the forces that established the curriculum policy encapsulated in the 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum' were closely associated with his personal beliefs.

These beliefs had been moulded and reinforced by the rhetoric of the academics in both America and Australia, the Institute of Teachers in their demands for recognition of the professionalism of teachers, the speeches made by the previous Director General, a supportive Minister of Education, the political climate of a progressive government, and widespread support for the devolution of authority and responsibility.

The rhetoric and philosophy of professional reform, evident since the mid 1960s, was given credibility through the Director General's memorandum which outlined clearly a policy that would change curriculum direction in South Australia over the next fifteen years. The beliefs of the new Director General of Education led to the opportunity for the development of curriculum reform through the promulgation of the 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum'.

The autocratic procedures generally adopted by Walker in decision and policy processes had been replaced by a more consultative approach with Jones as Director General of Education.

The political approval for the Karmel Report recommendations (which became available in 1971), and the urgent need for parameters to define the boundaries of the 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum' elevated the issue of the purposes of schooling to the policy agenda.

While 'values' relating to the purposes of schools were malleable variables for possible policy development, the values developed in the Karmel Report were accepted in South Australia by policy actors with a minimum of public debate, and became widely accepted (and further developed) by educators during the 1970s.

The Karmel Report concluded that schools must prepare pupils for their future as well as equip them for participation in the world about them. Thus the Karmel Report

suggested that the school atmosphere should reflect the interpersonal relationships that were thought desirable in a society. The values governing the organization of the school, and the behaviour of the people in it, needed to be those that contributed to an evolutionary change in society.

'The Purposes of Schools' document emerged as the policy of the Education Department that responded to the value systems incorporated in the Karmel Report and set the parameters for the 'freedom and authority' offered to schools. It was written by an individual (Steinle) when a committee approach failed to achieve, and was a direct response to a recommendation of the Karmel Report, that the South Australian Education Department should articulate its purposes.

'The Purposes of Schools' document of 1971 did not appear to significantly influence the activities of the schools in South Australia, and the document's symbolic value in meeting a political expectancy established through the Karmel Report proved to be of greater significance than its proposed utilitarian purpose. Jones continued to emphasise, in isolation from the purposes, the 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum', which he saw as a new charter for schools.

One of the key reason for the development of a purposes of schools statement as an item for the policy agenda, emerged from the approval given to all recommendations within the Karmel Report. The favourable conditions described by Hogwood and Gunn (1984)¹ for an issue to emerge as a policy agenda item were all found to be present to some extent in 1971, leading to the publication of a perfunctory policy document.

There appeared to be ample time available to develop the policy on the purposes of schooling, and for a more detailed analysis utilising a rational comprehensive or similar

¹ Hogwood & Gunn. 1984, op. cit, 5.1, p. 68.

approach. Nevertheless, the issue fails to pass the 'gateways' of the filter suggested by Hogwood and Gunn¹ which refers to 'values', 'politics', and 'pre-conceived positions' in determining methods of policy development. In this sense, the document development utilising the 'normal' decision making strategies of the system and applied in the development of 'The Purposes of Schools' were probably more appropriate than the 'ideal' or other models. The approach used by Jones, supports the notions of Hogwood and Gunn.

'The Purposes of Schools' document of 1971 was developed independently of any formal policy process (though a policy structure was in place within the Education Department), and was largely dependent on the beliefs of the Director General of Education of the day, the emerging philosophy relating to the purposes of schooling, the political climate operating at that time, and the political acceptance of the values included in the Karmel Report into education in South Australia. It emerged as a parameter for schools to use, and as a response to both the 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum', and the 'Karmel Report (1969-1970)' on South Australian Education.

'The Purposes of Schools' document of 1971 failed to have a significant input on the key players, such as schools and unions, and its significance can only be noted as symbolic.

¹ Hogwood & Gunn. 1984, *op. cit*, pp. 91 -107.

Chapter Five: 1971-1978: Incremental change, Tireless Tinkering, and Fruitless Endeavours.

With the 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum' (1970) receiving national recognition, and the 'Purposes of Schools' (1971) document providing a charter for curriculum development in schools, it seemed reasonable to expect that schools would get on with the business of implementation consistent with the policies expounded. However, Head-teachers who had listened to the rhetoric of Walker who had offered 'freedom until it hurt', but limited it through constraining circulars, were slow to accept a new circular offering the same professional freedom to develop curriculum at a school level. Their scepticism was confirmed by circulars from the Divisional Directors within the Education Department in 1972 that reaffirmed that the policies issued in the late 1960s still remained, and their ardour was dampened further when 'The Purposes of Schools' document outlined broad objectives without providing a structure for curriculum development at a school level. Anticipated initiatives at the 'grass roots' level were slow to emerge.

Most schools appeared satisfied with the subject specific curriculum documents in use and developed during the 1960s, and there was little incentive for Principals or teachers to change direction and develop new courses within their own schools. The exercise of curriculum development was seen by Principals and teachers to be time consuming, requiring a high level of commitment, and demanding curriculum skills not found in every school¹. For most school based personnel, there appeared to be very little reason to depart from the traditional pathways.

By 1975, a new statement of policy emerged, updating the 1971 statement on 'The Purposes of Schools'. In 1976 the Secondary Curriculum Unit of the Schools Directorate

¹ Surveys of schools undertaken by R Aston and summarised by M Wiseman in 1979, noted these factors as major barriers to school based curriculum development (S.A. Education Department Archives - survey responses).

published a booklet entitled 'The Schools Curriculum 1'¹ reaffirming 'The Purposes of Schools' (1975) and focusing on describing in careful detail the current constraints on curriculum development, and the support offered to school based curriculum development by the Education Department.

This chapter explores why the issue of the purposes of schooling and school based curriculum development had become agenda items again after such a short time, and the outcomes of the revisions of the afore-mentioned documents.

5.1. The revised 'Purposes of Schools' document. - tinkering and incremental change.

There was no one specific reason for the development of a revised statement outlining the purposes of schools. Rather, there were a number of mitigating circumstances, consistent with the criteria established by Hogwood and Gunn (1984)² for an item to re-emerge as an agenda item. These factors included both internal and external policy stimuli, political influences at a national level, the interplay of power as a result of the actions of Divisional Directors, and the continuing influence of professional reformers. Crisis, particularity, emotion, impact, power, and fashion all influenced the climate to some degree, and collectively provided sufficient influence for a revision of the 1971 policy entitled 'The Purposes of Schools'.

Thus the context of change needs some discussion.

Firstly, schools were much slower in responding to the spirit of the 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum' than the new Director General of Education, A.W. Jones, had

¹ The Schools Curriculum 1, 1976, op. cit.

² Hogwood & Gunn 1984, op. cit., 6.1-6.4, pp. 88-99.

envisaged¹. The previous chapter has already highlighted the dissonance between the rhetoric of Walker, and the circulars issued by the South Australian Education Department through its Primary and Secondary Divisions, bringing about scepticism amongst schools as to the sincerity of Jones.

Secondly, there was a strong feeling at school level that 'The Purposes of Schools' statement was far too general to adequately support school based curriculum initiatives.² It lacked specificity about priorities, and end points to schooling, and teachers sought guidance through their Divisions as to how they should achieve the broad objectives.

Thirdly, in 1972 the Director of Secondary Curriculum, K. Barter, issued a statement to Principals entitled 'Policy on Secondary Curriculum in South Australia', that clearly implied that circulars issued prior to 'The Purposes of Schools' and the 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum' were still policy.

In a contradictory statement, the director stated

our policy is therefore for a curriculum as close to open ended as possible to be operated by the schools themselves to the Director General of Education approved terms of reference and 'the official statement of policy on the Secondary Curriculum was announced.....at the Departmental Staff Conference in 1968..... its full provisions would take two to three years to bring into effect'.³

This had undermined the spirit of school communities wishing to take curriculum initiatives, particularly as circulars such as 33/68 (referred to in the quotation above) and

¹ Jones, A.W, 1977, *Freedom and Authority in schools: A Postscript in Ebb and Flow*, Education Department of South Australia, p 82.

² Minutes, 1973, Primary Division, S.A. Education Department Archives, April.

³ Circular 1972:2, 1972, *Policy on Secondary Curriculum in South Australia*, from Barter, K, the Director of Secondary Curriculum.

issued under the leadership of Walker were quite prescriptive about subjects to be taught, time allocations, and modes of assessment.

Jones, as the new Director General of Education was left with an awkward choice of either refuting the circulars of a senior officer and admit to communication difficulties within the Education Department administration, or to put out a charter that replaced earlier communications. The latter was politically more palatable, but was not achieved immediately.

Fourthly, changes to Education Act in 1972 and gazetted in 1973, gave greater power to School Councils, who immediately began to seek a greater voice in what their children should be taught. If School Councils were to challenge Principals about the end points of schooling, then the Education Department stance needed to be more fully articulated.

Fifthly, the Primary Schools Curriculum Board encouraged students in Curriculum Design at Sturt College of Advanced Education and Flinders University to form a small committee early in 1975 to review the 1971 document, and make recommendations to the them on the acceptability of the activities (purposes) of schools, and its public presence.¹

The report (March 1975) made by the group to the Primary Schools Curriculum Board appeared to be ignored by the Director General of Education, and committee members who developed the revised document doubt whether its recommendations were even passed on.² Nevertheless, the activity of the group was known to the Education

¹ Martin, Rodney, chairperson, 1975, to the Primary Schools Advisory Curriculum Board from the Purposes of Schools Advisory Committee - final report.

² Independent Interviews with Kevin Packer and Isabel Penna (Committee members) 14th October 1988.

Department, and gave a further reason for looking again at suggested inadequacies in 'The Purposes of Schools' (1971) document.

Steinle, in interview provided a more telling political reason for the 1975 revision of 'The Purposes of Schools'.

Hugh Hudson saw 'The Purposes of Schools' document as useless unless it was politically acceptable to schools, parents, and the broader community, and so all schools were issued with multiple copies. This was partly the reason for the rewrite occurring in 1975. The original document was a bland uninteresting statement, but it got a 'tick' from Alby Jones, and that fixed it as far as the South Australian Education Department was concerned - the Karmel recommendation had been met. It disappeared from the scene fairly quickly, as it was of no real use to anyone.¹

In addition to meeting the recommendations of the Karmel Report, the matter of curriculum priorities were important in any rewrite, as the newspapers during 1974 had been critical of standards of reading, writing, and spelling. Thus it was expedient to emphasize a charter for schools, and to strengthen the emphasis through a revised policy statement.

Finally, the impact of Commonwealth education policies were being felt in South Australia. Jones², believed that this was the real catalyst that stimulated his request for the 1975 revision of 'The Purposes of Schools'. The 1973 Commonwealth Act established the Schools Commission and the subsequent State Grants Act which channelled Commonwealth funds to Schools in the various Australian States. It advocated devolution of responsibility, and provided direct grants to teachers (innovations grants) providing an opportunity to decentralize curriculum building and for teachers to try out ideas in their own schools with their own students.

¹ Interview with Steinle, J. R. 3/11/88.

² Interview with Jones, A.W. 4/10/88.

While in South Australia, there had been grass-roots influence for many years in course construction, it had always been centrally coordinated by the Education Department or the Public Examinations Board. Policy guide-lines had to be strengthened and expanded if the Director General of Education was to be seen as accountable for the curriculum development of the State, and at a weekend conference of Superintendents in 1975 a revised version of 'The Purposes of Schools' was produced for publication.

Jones had another even more pragmatic reason for the development of 'The Purposes of Schools' document, and its re-emergence on the policy agenda in 1975.¹

After the acceptance of the 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum' in the South Australian Karmel Report (described by A.W. Jones as the 'Old Testament'), he felt that the next step was the consideration of the aims of education developed in the 'Schools in Australia: Interim Committee for the Australian Schools Commission', report (1973) ('New Testament').

Karmel was not very specific in his chapter on the aims of education, but he did set down the five or six things (if we include diversity) he considered the keys to a good education. I wanted a generalized expansion of Karmel. Practically my whole time as Director General of Education was spent implementing Karmel, and this was one of the first steps.

You asked why the 1975 version proved necessary. The reason was that the 'new testament' had come out - the Commonwealth Karmel report entitled 'Schools in Australia'. This slightly varied the aims as described in the South Australian version. The Commonwealth version gave greater emphasis to the 'basics'. The 1975 version of 'The Purposes of Schools' was simply an update, to respond to Karmel's change of line.²

¹ loc. cit.

² *ibid.*

The Commonwealth Schools Commission had made a considerable input of finance into libraries, disadvantaged schools, special education, teacher development, and special projects, all of which were impacting on the school curriculum. Principals learnt quickly that the innovations programme of the Schools Commission gave them access to funds unavailable to them in the past, especially to meet Commonwealth priorities¹ of devolution of authority, equality, diversity, and community participation. It proved to be a catalyst to action at the school level.

Further, the Commonwealth Curriculum Development Centre in Canberra was starting to influence thinking about curriculum, and at a National Workshop in April 1974, produced 'Guide-lines for Curriculum Development in Australia'. It was also funding National Curriculum projects such as the Social Education Materials Project (S.E.M.P.), and informal discussions were underway suggesting a National Core Curriculum. Some academics were questioning the skills of schools to undertake Curriculum Development.

In 1975 there was a change in the Commonwealth Government, with the conservative coalition parties replacing the Labor party. The conservatives under Fraser curtailed expenditure and the dreams of a National Curriculum², and distanced themselves from Labor proposals. The new Fraser Government placed emphasis on the economic purposes of education, as productivity and efficiency became central to its policy.

Hogwood and Gunn's premise (1984) relating to conditions necessary for an issue to re-appear on the policy agenda are again confirmed through the research on this period.

¹ Karmel, P. H, chairperson, 1973, *op. cit.*

² Hough, J.R, ed, 1982, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-45.

In a brief space of four years a 'policy crisis' had emerged needing resolution. The ends of schooling needed to be clearly articulated, and emphasis given had to meet political purposes as well as utilitarian ends.

Cobb and Elder (1972), in looking at the dynamics of agenda building, contended that some triggering device was necessary for the initiator to re-create an issue (the Director General of Education in this case).¹ The power of the Commonwealth dollar to encourage changes at 'grass-roots level' had highlighted the need for a better statement on the desired outcomes of schooling that would act as a policy umbrella. The Commonwealth Karmel Report had both legitimated activity to re-draft the policy relating to the purposes of schools, as well as provided incentives for school based curriculum activity.

In May 1975 the Director General of Education, Jones, in a memorandum to Principals and Staff, circulated a revised statement on 'The Purposes of Schools', in response to the need to be more specific about the end points of schooling. Jones comments that

*this document in conjunction with the Freedom and Authority memorandum is now considered to be a charter on which we operate our schools in the interests of the children who attend them and which represents Departmental policy on curriculum in terms of the legal responsibility laid upon me in the Education Act of 1972, Part vii, 82 (1).*²

¹ Cobb, Roger W. & Elder Charles D, 1972, *Participation in American Politics: The Dynamics of Agenda Building.*, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, pp. 82 - 85.

² Jones, A. W, 1975, *Memorandum to Principals and Staff*, South Australian Education Department archives, p. 2.

Jones, who had been sensitive to newspaper articles during 1974 attacking the lack of standards in South Australian schools, implied in this memorandum that there had been criticism of schools and comments,

No doubt in endeavouring to live up to this charter, we all fall short of perfection, but not to the extent that some of our critics contend the intentions of our critics are not so obvious beyond their claim, unsupported by research or reliable evidence that the promotion of the basic skills of reading, writing, and the use of numbers has been dropped from the educational programme of Government schools.¹

The rewritten 'The Purposes of Schools' statement in 1975 was developed by a 'handful of officers' from the curriculum directorate at a weekend conference, with little curriculum policy analysis or research taking place at all. The process had become one of incremental change which depended on the contextual understanding and values of a select few within the bureaucracy. In this respect, the document was strongly influenced by the Karmel Report for the Commonwealth Schools Commission (1973), where literacy and numeracy were given a strong emphasis.

Goodson (1981)² suggests that in such cases the prior educational, work, and personal experiences of the actors may have a direct bearing on the policy decisions. As a number of Superintendents involved had received their appointments in the wake of the Karmel Report (1971), the 'flavour' of the document is not surprising.

The final document demonstrated acceptance of the broad outlines of the existing situation. Only marginal changes were contemplated and were in evidence in the revised document. Very few policy alternatives were considered, and minor adjustments to objectives led to minor adjustments to policies. Data was not researched, and analysis of

¹ Jones, A. W, 1975, Memorandum to Principals and Staff, op. cit, p. 2.

² Goodson, Ivor, 1981, Life Histories and the Study of Schooling, in *Interchange*, Ontario Institute of Studies in Education, vol.11, no. 4, pp. 62-76.

information proved to be serial and piecemeal, without any single comprehensive attack at the policy problem ever envisaged. The process was that described by Kirst and Walker in their discussions of disjointed incrementalism as a method common in public policy development, and articulated in chapter three.

In summary, there were both internal and external motivating forces associated with the re-emergence of the purposes of schooling as an agenda item, leading to the revised statement produced in 1975.

Among the internal influences was the concern of Jones that the response to the spirit of the 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum' was considerably slower than he had envisaged. 'The Purposes of Schools' proved far too general to adequately support school based curriculum initiatives. Internal communication difficulties existed where documents such as 'Policy on Secondary Curriculum in South Australia' clearly implied that circulars issued prior to 'The Purposes of Schools' and 'Freedom and Authority' were still policy, even though they were opposed to the spirit of the 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum'.

External influences included the changes to Education Act in 1972 and gazetted in 1973, which gave greater power to School Councils in matters of curriculum advice; criticism of policy by students in Curriculum Design at Sturt College of Advanced Education and Flinders University; and a powerful Minister of Education, Hudson, who saw the 1971 'The Purposes of Schools' document as useless unless it was politically acceptable to schools, parents, and the broader community. At the same time, the Curriculum Development Centre in Canberra was starting to influence thinking about curriculum, and the newspapers around Australia during 1974 were extremely critical of standards of literacy and numeracy.

In addition to all these factors, the Commonwealth Karmel Committee of Enquiry reporting in 1973, the establishment of the Commonwealth Schools Commission, and the power of the Commonwealth dollar to encourage changes at 'grass-roots level' all highlighted the need for a better statement on the desired outcomes of schooling, and the promotion of the basic skills of reading, writing and the use of numbers.

The political urgency to have a clear statement led to a weekend conference of Superintendents, who took the original document and made incremental changes to it to meet the emphases of the mid-1970s consistent with the emphasis of professional reformers such as Karmel, and as appeared in the popular press.

5.2. 1975-1978: a period of fruitless endeavours?

By the mid 1970s Principals had begun to realise that Jones was serious in his intent to devolve authority for curriculum to Principals, and both the Primary and Secondary Principals' Associations placed curriculum development on their professional agendas. The Secondary Principals, with the assistance of a Superintendent of Curriculum and the curriculum Principal Education Officers, decided to undertake a survey of secondary curriculum needs, and work collaboratively to meet those identified.

As an outcome of this activity they aggregated all existing policy statements into a small booklet entitled 'The Schools Curriculum 1' and planned for a follow up booklet that would structure future curriculum development within schools. It was to provide a framework for schools, that would set parameters for school based developments.

Rea, who became the executive officer for the Secondary Schools Curriculum Unit Project, described the situation as follows.

As the 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum' began to take hold in the mid 1970s, and the Commonwealth made inputs into education with its innovations

programmes, there was a feeling abroad that there was a need to regain some control of the curriculum. There was a proliferation of subject areas, and freedom without apparent responsibility.¹

These expressed thoughts were confirmed by R. Smallacombe, who is considered by contemporary officers as the real architect behind the 1981 policy document 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes'. Amongst six key reasons he cites for the development of the latter document, are two relating to the mid-1970s debate.

In 1976 A.W. Jones wrote a follow-up to the 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum', called 'Freedom and Authority Revisited'. This became an important document (despite its rosy facade within the text) because it indicated that he (A.W. Jones) was having doubts about the implications of 'Freedom and Authority', and by that time there were senior officers of the Education Department such as Forbes and Alan Woods, advising him of the difficulties.

The issue was, did 'Freedom and Authority' need some constraining? Evidence from the Curriculum Reform Unit in the USA which had emerged as early as 1959 and which had moved into full operation by the late 1960s, questioned strongly whether unfettered school based curriculum development had lead to the improvement of curriculum in American public schools. Evidence showed that it had the problem of consuming large amounts of time, and was dependent on a large number of operators such as advisers and support services.

By and large, South Australian schools had not picked up the school based curriculum development at the level Jones had hoped. Despite large centralized curriculum support services, the time and expertise did not exist in every school in the system to do that.²

The second issue Smallacombe described as follows.

There was a concern expressed within the Education Department by the Principal Education Officers of the day at the proliferation and the lack of

¹ Interview with Rea, Jim. 6/3/87.

² Interview with Smallacombe, Roy. Sept 1987.

management and organisation of the curriculum in individual schools. For example, there was one Area School where the students were able to accumulate in years eight, nine, and ten, something like 72 separate courses over those three years (8 courses per term over 3 years). There were no over-arching guidelines. You could do (for example) 72 courses without any studies in mathematics or English language. These systemic problems were difficult to resolve without a system policy.¹

From the 5th to 7th of March, 1976 a group of Secondary Deputy Principals concerned about curriculum coordination attended a conference entitled 'Curriculum Development'. Superintendents of Schools (curriculum) and a group of Principal Education Officers at the time, were 'formulating the first stages of a review of Secondary Curriculum'². J. Mayfield, then Assistant Director General of Schools stated in the preface to the Conference Report, information relating to the production of the booklet 'The School's Curriculum 1', 1976.

It was therefore a first combined step to share concerns that we all held about the coordination of curriculum in schools. While it may have been desirable to involve more people, it was recognised that by convening such a group and sharing the findings by the means of this report the first steps in the examination of some problems would have been taken.³

'The School's Curriculum 1' document brought together the 1976 constraints on curriculum development, and the means by which those constraints were to be supported by the Education Department. M.L. Strange, Superintendent of Schools (Curriculum) coordinated the work. It was envisaged that a 'School's Curriculum 2' would follow later to update policies for the future directions of curriculum, provide guidance to Principals, and as a response to the social changes emerging.

¹ **ibid.**

² **Conference Report, CR-50, 1976, Curriculum Development, Education Department of South Australia.**

³ **ibid.**

In the 'School's Curriculum 1' booklet, Director General Jones stated,

It has become clear that social changes and educational developments are causing us to look once more at the kinds of curricula we are developing for the students in our secondary schools. In particular, we should perhaps be concerned to produce curricula relevant to student and community wishes and responsive to the climate of the times. To do this requires a local effort and a detailed consideration by the whole school community of what should be done to meet best the requirements of students, employers, parents, tertiary institutions, and the challenges of the wider society which students eventually will enter. Before this detailed consideration can be undertaken, however, it will be necessary for us to review in detail the framework within which curricula are put together.¹

Jones went on and outlined that the purpose of 'The School's Curriculum 1' document was

..... to describe in careful detail the current constraints on curriculum development and the means by which it is supported with the view to obtaining a response from the school community so that a new framework can be developed within which the school community may legitimately develop curricula.²

These were the first public references to the development of a new framework for curriculum development in South Australia. The authors of the document stated that one area that would require early review and clarification was the series of policy statements promulgated in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

At that 1976 'Curriculum Development' conference it was stated that the demands for 'The School's Curriculum 1' document came from schools who were asking for clarification of the present position and guidance for all concerned. It was proposed that the booklet adopt an approach 'sufficiently analytical for a firm base statement to result'. In addition to a number of aims the authors set out to 'state clearly matters of policy and

¹ The Schools Curriculum 1, 1976, op. cit, p. 3.

² *ibid*, p. 4.

structure where appropriate' and 'the writers will take the view that research is likely to follow rather than precede publication of the statement, as areas of uncertainty identified in the process call for investigation.'¹

The Review of the Secondary Curriculum undertaken at this stage, and the subsequent 'The School's Curriculum 1' document provided some initial impetus for the 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' document printed and circulated in 1981. It is of interest to note that one of the main curriculum writers of the latter document, R. Aston, was present at the 1976 'Curriculum Development' conference.

Aston describes his initial involvement as follows.

I first came into it almost by accident. There was a conference called as part of developing the little yellow book called 'Schools Curriculum 1'. That was a review of where curriculum was going. It came about (as I understand it) because the 'Purposes of Schools' and 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum' had collectively and effectively said 'schools are responsible for their curriculum - here are ten broad principles as the purposes of schools. Within the framework of the purposes of schools develop your own curriculum'. Circulars and memo's sent out in previous years added a little on, or took a little away, until there was concern both in Curriculum Directorate, and in schools themselves, that people were travelling in many different directions at once.

A series of conferences were held to design what could be called Core Curriculum. The Superintendents had got together and reviewed where they were at, and brought together all circulars and documents relating to curriculum (The Schools Curriculum 1'). The next stage was a series of conferences to build on the picture they had.

I was invited as a schools representative to attend a conference to be held at Goolwa to look at the Senior Secondary Curriculum. There was another group looking at Junior Secondary. In the event, Jeff Hodgson who was to convene this, took ill. I was supposed to convene the Senior Secondary group, and I

¹ Conference Report, CR-50, 1976, op. cit, p. 15.

amalgamated the two groups to see if we could come up with a core curriculum for all schools. A report came out of that conference as well as papers. Jim Rea was responsible for the production of the blue covered resource paper titled 'A Guide to a Process of Curriculum Development' (printed 1978).¹

The Secondary Curriculum Review team during 1977 produced two base papers, and a reaction was sought from the Principal Education Officers, and curriculum committee conveners at a one day conference in December. The papers outlined the development of a curriculum framework consistent with the 'Purposes of Schools' (1975) statement. The Central Curriculum Coordinating Committee of the Education Department were asked to indicate the future of the Project and the manpower and resources to pursue it effectively. The one day conference was significant, for it made a number of structural recommendations which are quoted here in full.

1. The concept of a FRAMEWORK.

1. *There was agreement with the concept of a need for a framework.*
2. *The project should continue to develop a framework. It was expected that the version developed to date would be altered or refined. The framework needs to be comprehensive and thoroughly prepared.*
3. *Schools have asked for a framework.*

2. Suggestions for details of a framework.

It is important to differentiate between skills, knowledge, values, and performance. The following approach, suggested by one group, may be useful.

- *Define which bodies of knowledge, skills, and performances are considered obligatory in our culture.*
- *Define core media for learning and communication of the above knowledge - film and television, reading and writing, talking, drawing, sculpture, and mathematics.*
- *Values, self knowledge, and decision making have aspects of knowledge and skills.*

3. Core Curriculum.

- *The conference did not go beyond the matter of a framework, leaving open the question of a possible statement about the core curriculum.*
- *One group thought that Circular 33/1968 still had some validity (it includes a statement about core subjects).*

1 Interview with Aston, R. 10/3/88.

4. Background Factors.

- *The base working paper must be taken into account.*
- *Circular 33/1968 - specifies core individual learning.¹*
- *December conference suggests alternative approaches.*
- *New statements from the Director General of Education 30/1/78.*

5. Project Plan.

- *This included long term and short term goals for the project.*

6. Steering Committee.

- *need to form a steering committee to guide the project.²*

The base papers presented at the December conference outlined the essential features of the proposed framework and suggested that the framework was designed to assist in the implementation of 'The Purposes of Schools' (1975).³

The papers also considered the need for balance between the components of the framework and the need for flexibility. Implications for schools were also considered and the need for schools to identify, for example 'measurable objectives in the basic skills of each major area'. It was stated 'it is not enough to present schools with a philosophy and a broad framework and hope that school developed curriculum will emerge automatically'. In hindsight, it appeared that this issue was never adequately addressed in the eventual policy statement 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes'.

In 1977 Jones retired as Director General of Education, and Steinle replaced him. A decision was taken then to complete the functional reorganisation of the South Australian Education Department begun by Jones, but not proceeded with, as he believed the South Australian Education Department was not ready. Hence the curriculum

¹ Circular 33/68, 1968, was probably the most prescriptive of the circulars issued by The Director General, Johnny Walker. It specified subjects, times, and modes of assessment to be used. Some Principals believed that it was still policy.

² Strange, M, (15th February 1978), Report to the Curriculum Coordinating Committee from the Superintendent of Curriculum (Secondary), Education Department of South Australia.

³ South Australian Education Department Archives - 1977, 1978.

activities of Primary and Secondary groups were momentarily curtailed, with the new Assistant Director of Curriculum, Smallacombe, writing to groups to cancel planned conferences.

In a letter dated the 26th July, 1978, Smallacombe wrote to those who anticipated involvement in the Secondary Curriculum Project Conference CR-53 planned for the 31st of July to the 4th of August, 1978, as follows.

Since you were involved in the 1977 conference at Goolwa which worked on a Junior Secondary Curriculum Framework, you may be wondering why there was no apparent follow up and why the August conference has now been cancelled.

The short answer is that new curriculum statements need to be in a R-12 context. To produce a Junior Secondary Framework which was not in line with Primary and Junior Primary policies would be rather pointless.

When Steinle became the Director General in 1977, two contradictory trends were in operation. Firstly there was a movement towards greater centralism, and increased federal involvement, through the Commonwealth Schools Commission, yet on the other hand, a movement towards decentralization, with the formation in South Australia of ten Educational Regions at various stages of development. Changes to the Education Act and Regulations also had devolved greater responsibility to School Councils.

Steinle appeared anxious to get on with the operational changes that were needed with Regionalization of the Department. Three levels of decision making had to be considered, whereas two only had been needed while Jones was Director-General. Central processes and school processes were still necessary, with Regionalization bringing about a need for another operational level of decision making that had to be fully conversant and compatible with policies developed in schools and at the centre.

In the reorganised Education Department, there would be one Curriculum Directorate rather than a Primary and Secondary Division. The energies of the Education Department went into the efforts to restructure, and to the dismay of the Principals who had hopes of receiving clearer direction in the area of curriculum, the Curriculum Project was shelved indefinitely. Three years of effort initiated by Principals and supported by Departmental officers appeared at the time to have been wasted, as no-one in authority provided leadership to see the project completed.

In summary, the period 1971 - 1978 saw the emergence of only one curriculum policy statement, 'The Purposes of Schools' (1975), which was a revision of the earlier document circulated in 1971. The main policy stimuli came from the political need for the educational system to be seen to be giving greater attention to the teaching of numeracy and literacy, and to include the social priorities emerging from the work of the newly formed Commonwealth Schools Commission. Such a focus was seen to be more likely to attract money from the Commonwealth for system initiatives. Internally, schools recognised a need for a clearer statement of objectives to assist them structure the curriculum.

The South Australian curriculum policy development processes remained relatively crude, with the revised document being achieved at a weekend conference of senior curriculum officers, and being approved by the Director General of Education. Consultation remained minimal, and the changes were incremental only. No consideration was given to a more comprehensive approach.

Following 1975, Principals of Schools established committees to develop structures for themselves that would help them in the development of school based curriculum. This received initial support from the system, but with the retirement of Jones in 1977, the new Director General of Education, Steinle concentrated his efforts into restructuring the Education Department along functional lines, with a further

emphasis on decentralisation. Thus the efforts of school based professional reformers were frustrated, and all activity in the development of curriculum structures ceased until the system was ready to reinstate the issue on the policy agenda.

The period from 1971 to 1978 can be described as a period of curriculum policy tinkering, with incremental approaches preferred to more comprehensive policy development. While external political forces in response to the Commonwealth Education enquiry in 1973, and the formation of the Schools Commission, prompted a minor revision of 'The Purposes of Schools' document, the outcome was a instrument which was valuable as an indicator of directions rather than a structure that would allow professional reformers within schools to develop school based curriculum models.

The 'Freedom and Authority' offered to schools in 1970, was only taken up by the more enterprising and confident Principals and schools, as the structures desired for curriculum development remained inadequately addressed through systems policy. Lack of time, energy, incentive, and expertise at a school level, and an inadequate curriculum policy framework at a system level, worked against the desired outcome of school based curriculum development which was responsive to the needs of school communities.

The Director General of Education, Steinle, when appointed in 1977, focused his initial energies into the reorganisation of the Education Department to achieve greater functional efficiency. This needed to be in place, before the purposes of schools could be re-visited in a reception to year twelve context.

Chapter Six: 1978 - 1981: From Incremental Change to an Inspirational jump.

'The Purposes of Schools' document of 1971 was still the major curriculum policy document in 1978, having undergone revisions of an iterative nature in 1975. The minor supplementations and revisions made the document more in step with the 'Schools in Australia: Interim Committee for the Australian Schools Commission', report of 1973, and ensured the political wish for greater prominence of literacy and numeracy. This led to a perfunctory statement, rather than a framework for school based curriculum developments consistent with 'The Freedom and Authority Memorandum' (1970).

Despite its apparent symbolic nature, the more confident Principals were ready to take up the challenges of curriculum freedom and authority by the mid 1970s. They were encouraged by the grants made available to schools by the Commonwealth Schools Commission, and changes to the Education Act that invited School Councils to provide the Principal with the considered views of the school community on all matters including curriculum.

The Primary and Secondary Associations of Principals, looking for structure to direct curriculum developments, placed the matter of purposes of schooling on their agendas in 1975, only to be frustrated, as the system withdrew its support of independent Primary and Secondary initiatives, as it looked to reorganise the Education Department along functional lines encompassing all year levels from reception to year twelve. At the same time as it restructured and removed Divisions, it put its energy into Regionalization, with the state of South Australia being divided into ten semi-autonomous units.

In the period 1978 to 1981 the Education Department took up the issue of the purposes of schooling once more and produced a significant curriculum policy document. The final policy statement developed over this period was entitled 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' and was the most comprehensive document of its

kind produced in South Australia. It was heralded as a curriculum charter for the coming decade¹, and is the subject of discussion in this chapter.

Prior to 1978, there were very few people involved in the curriculum policy development processes, with the 1971 'The Purposes of Schools' document being drafted by an individual, and the 1975 revision being largely the province of a small group of Superintendents at a weekend conference.

Operational changes became necessary as an outcome of the further Regionalization of the Department as recommended by the Karmel Report, (1971). The decision in 1977 by Steinle to complete the functional reorganisation of the South Australian Education Department begun by Jones (but not proceeded with, as he believed the South Australian Education Department was not ready) meant that three levels of decision making now had to be considered in the development of any system wide policy, whereas two had been needed before. Central processes and school processes were still necessary, with Regionalization bringing about a need for another operational level of decision making that had to be fully conversant and compatible with policies developed in schools and at the administration centre of the South Australian Education Department.

While this chapter will look closely at the development of the policy document, 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes', it begins with a description of the new structures developed in 1977-78 to provide the context for the policy developments that followed.

¹ Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes, (1981), op. cit, Foreword, p. 5.

6.1. The New Policy Making Structures.

To keep pace with the trends of re-centralization at a political level and decentralization at an operational level, different policy structures were initiated to better serve the reorganised Education Department. Procedures designed were more democratic than in the past, involving representation at all levels of the Education Department, adding to the complexity of new structures. The key decision making structures were in place by the end of 1978, though significant refinements and additions continued until the end of 1980.

Within the constraints imposed by the Education Act and its Regulations and the financial constraints of the budget allocated to the Education Department, the Minister of Education, and the Director General of Education were responsible for the highest levels of decision making. While the Minister generally made decisions consistent with the Act on the advice of the Director-General of Education, in curriculum matters the Director-General of Education did not require Ministerial approval. Nevertheless, the Director General of Education often found it expedient to seek the Minister of Education's counsel before any implementation of curriculum policies was undertaken.

The Minister received advice and consulted with two other key sources - the South Australian Institute of Teachers, and Associations of School Councils and Parents' Clubs.

With the more complex organizational structure beyond 1977, and the potential for greater conflict, Director General Steinle needed to establish a network of formal and informal arrangements for decision making.

Steinle's informal approach included seeking advice on some issues from his two deputies, and consulting Central Office Directors and Regional Directors on specific matters.

In a formal sense, three committees were established to give advice to the Director General, through making recommendations on matters referred to them, or which they might initiate, or through making decisions on matters within their terms of reference.

These committees and their structure and function are outlined in summary form below and charted at the end of this section, with joining lines being used to indicate reporting relationships.

Care was taken to ensure that there was functional overlap of Regional and Central personnel on various committees to reduce potential policy divergence between the decision making groups. In practice this made some individuals more powerful than others, as they relayed (or with-held) information between groups.

1. *Regional Directors' Committee:* This was chaired by the Deputy Director-General of Education (Schools) and all Regional Directors were members. The committee provided a medium for co-ordinating school management issues. It acted as an advisory group to the Director General of Education on a wide range of issues affecting the operations of schools and identified issues that could require definition of policy.
2. *Management Committee:* The chair-person was the Deputy Director General of education (Resources). All central office Directors were members, two Regional Directors, and the Senior Finance Officer. It made decisions on system wide management issues, referring some matters for the consideration of the Policy Committee and was the principal departmental focus for financial planning and management. In this last role, its membership was augmented by the inclusion of the Chief Accountant and other finance officers. This committee does not appear within diagram 6.1. as it is not involved in curriculum policy.

3. *Policy Committee:* The chair-person was J. Steinle, the Director General of Education. All central office directors were members, as well as two Regional Directors and the Women's Adviser. It was the senior decision making group and decided major policy directions of the Education Department.

All three committees operated on a consensus model, but with the latter two committees in particular this meant that proposals might need to be withdrawn and referred to the initiator for revision for consensus to become a reality.

In 1980 a Policy Review Unit was also established to assist the work of the policy committee. This was formed from within the Research and Planning Directorate (see diagram 6.1.). It is worth noting here that one of its first tasks was to review the final draft version of the 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' document. Towards the end of the policy development process, their suggestion that 'literacy' and 'numeracy' become priorities was supported by the policy committee and incorporated in the final document draft.

In addition to the above three committees, CORD Conference¹ met three times a year (once per school term) to develop priorities for the system to address. It was this group who first confirmed the need for a revised 'Purposes of Schools' statement in 1978.

The structure outlined above operated to attend to all major policy decisions. While some decisions were still made in the Directorates, they were limited to matters which

¹ **CORD** is an acronym to indicate the meetings of Central Office Directors with Regional Directors (Central Office and Regional Directors). This group of people of Director status and higher came together twice per year to determine policy directions for the Education Department of South Australia. CORD was chaired by the Director General of Education, and first met in 1977 as part of the new structure for policy development within the Education Department. It provided direction to the Policy Committee and to the Director General of Education.

were the responsibility directly delegated by the Director General of Education to the Central or Regional Director. Curriculum policies relating to 'areas of study' were developed in the Curriculum Directorate, but still needed to be considered by the Policy Committee before they became policy. Resource papers associated with policy statements could be approved and released from within the Directorate.

The Regional level was basically an operational level. The Regional Director was responsible to the Director General of Education for the effectiveness and on-going operations of the schools within the region. This role involved some regulatory and some advisory functions, and also provided opportunities for initiative and development. The Region provided a direct service to schools as well as a link with other Regions and between schools and the Central Office. In this way potential conflict would be minimized.

Other decision making responsibilities were in the hands of school Principals, their staff, and the school community they served. As these local decisions are beyond the scope of this study they are not discussed here, except to say that schools operated under the Education Act and Regulations, which spelt out the responsibilities of the School Principal. Principals operated in the spirit of the 'Freedom and Authority' memorandum, with considerable discretionary power. This power that increased as the 1980s progressed.

In summary, the formal processes developed in the late 1970s were far more complex, but far more democratic than at any stage of the State's history. It was in this climate of decision making that 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' was developed, with the formal decision making structure described above remaining in place until a further Education Department reorganization commenced in 1984.

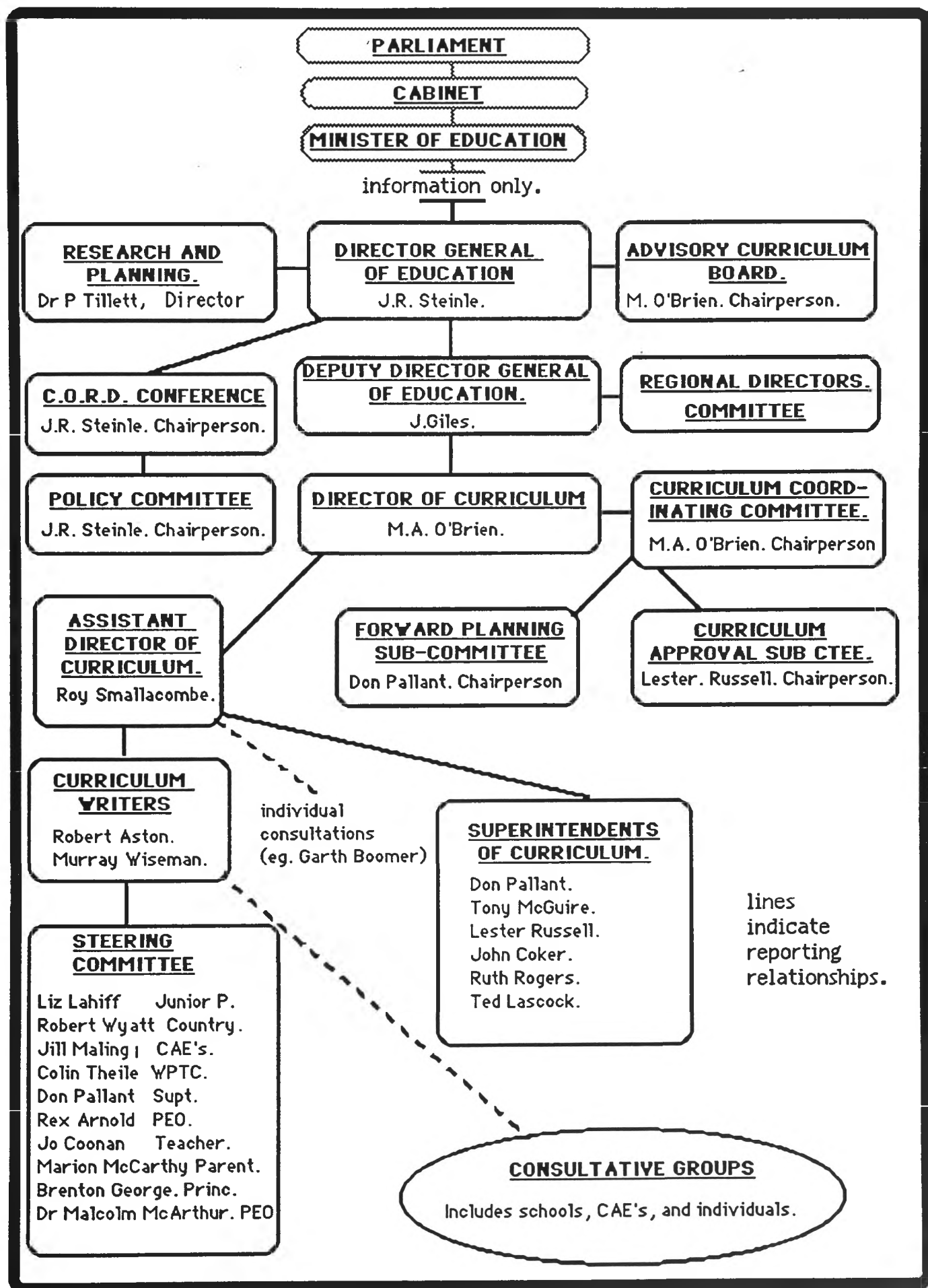


Diagram 6.1. Stakeholders Relationships in Curriculum Policy Development 1979 - 1981, after Majchrzak, A, (1984), op. cit. p 37.

6.2. The new Curriculum Directorate, its people, power structures, and the passage of policy.

As 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' was developed initially within the Curriculum Directorate before passing through the gateways just described, the structure of that Directorate is extremely important in the policy development processes. A chart established as part of the Research methodology precedes this section (Diagram 6.1).

Equally important were the personalities involved in the policy process. This study later concludes that the influence of key individuals was far more important to the policy outcomes than the influence of the various groups. Thus in discussing the structures within the Curriculum Directorate, the influence of individuals is highlighted. Their 'manipulation' of the policy processes is one key to policy outcomes.

Within Curriculum Directorate, a number of committees had been established (see diagram 6.1). There was the Curriculum Coordinating Committee and its two sub committees (Forward Planning and Curriculum Approval), the Curriculum Steering Committee, and the Advisory Curriculum Board. In addition, there was the group of Curriculum Superintendents and Principal Education Officers, who met together on a regular basis, and strongly influenced the activities and direction of the Directorate. The internal politics based on the relationship between these groups is significant, and included in the discussion of roles that follows.

The Curriculum Coordinating Committee, according to O'Brien¹ (Director of Curriculum from 1977), grew out of his general concern as a Director relating to the proliferation of curriculum documents in the late 1970s, and the variable quality of some of these. Prior to 1979 the management of curriculum production had been through a

¹ Interview conducted with O'Brien, Maurice, (Director of Curriculum), 1/3/88.

single committee within the Curriculum Directorate. As this central committee managed the affairs of the directorate, there was often confusion of purposes and roles. Pallant and Russell (Superintendents of Curriculum), who were responsible for monitoring up to 80% of the total curriculum areas in 1979 approached O'Brien, offering to take this problem 'on board' as part of their employment brief.

The Curriculum Coordinating Committee eventually formed was chaired by O'Brien, and was divided into two sub committees described by Pallant as follows.

The Forward Planning Sub-Committee was chaired by myself [Don Pallant] and was established in 1979. It grew from a concern of Superintendents [at least Russell and Pallant] that there was such a proliferation of curriculum committees, and a general lack of supervision of these committees. In 1979, a stock-taking of the number of curriculum documents being produced at that time was in excess of 200. Initially Pallant and Russell took these problems 'on board' with no official jurisdiction to do so.

When this sub group was eventually formed, its major responsibility was to evaluate perceived curriculum needs. Before any curriculum proposal was allowed to proceed, the proposal with the identification of what was to be developed, the need for it, the processes to be used in establishment, and the costs to be involved went before the planning sub committee. Their endorsement was the authority to proceed to the development phase.

The other group was the Curriculum Approval Sub-committee chaired by Lester Russell. At the same time as we were concerned with the number of curriculum documents, there was considerable concern at the large numbers of curriculum documents reaching schools. Indeed, there were general concerns as to the quality control of curriculum documents - the concerns being expressed by schools in the late 1970s. The high level of curriculum activity was in itself a reaction against the five year curriculum moratorium of 1972, particularly in the Primary area. Lionel Whalan had requested the moratorium, to give schools the opportunity to come to grips with A.W. Jones 'Freedom and Authority' implications. The moratorium had created a 5 year dearth of new centrally produced documents, and hence the immense buzz of activity about 1979.

Kit Moller became executive project officer to this group, and there was a school representative, and a curriculum expert from the tertiary sector. Other subject specific experts supplemented the group from time to time.

This group looked at matter for approval, the processes involved, the product, quality control, and technical and resourcing needs prior to any approval.¹

It was intended that the 'Curriculum Coordinating Committee' would not be a group from within the curriculum directorate, but would be a representative committee made up of the three main loci of responsibility at the time - schools, regions, and central officers.

The Director of Curriculum (O'Brien) chaired it, there were two Superintendent representatives of the Curriculum Directorate (D. Pallant and L. Russell), a representative of the Curriculum Principal Education Officers, and two people nominated by Regional directors (D. Ralph, W. Ekins). School representatives were nominated via the Principals' Associations (J. Lasslett and R. Rowell - secondary schools, G. Gapper and one other primary schools person).

This group became directly responsible to the Director General of Education for the curriculum planning of the Education Department. The process was one of making recommendations to the Director of Curriculum (who chaired the committee), who would in turn recommend to the Director General that he sign any materials produced as an official endorsement of his authority under Section 82 of the Education Act. The Director General of Education sometimes required supplementary checks with groups such as Regional Directors (through the Deputy Director General of Schools) before final approval.

¹ Interview held with Pallant, D, Supt of Curriculum, 2/3/88

The Curriculum Coordinating Committee gave approval to curriculum documents developed for the South Australian Education Department by central committees, ensuring all published materials were in accord with existing policies. It did not give approval to school developed curriculum, a matter which was addressed at the eleventh hour in the production of policy within 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes'.

It was clear from interviews conducted with Aston, Smallacombe, and O'Brien¹, that the Director of Curriculum used this committee to keep curriculum committees in check (and there were at least 50 active curriculum writing groups operating within the Directorate). He used the committee to delay or sequence publications, and to monitor methodology and content. More importantly from this study's point of view it provided advice through Smallacombe to the writers of 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes'.

A second group of stakeholders that could be expected to influence curriculum direction, were the Advisory Curriculum Board. It was set up by the Minister of Education to advise the Director General of Education. In the initial stages it was heavily dominated by Education Department officers with membership greater than 50% and mainly people from the Curriculum Directorate. Other membership was by representation (for example, parent representation, employer representation, tertiary representation). It did not appear to have great impact on major curriculum issues and was reactive when advice was sought, rather than pro-active in relation to curriculum matters.

Interviews with personnel who served on this board (who do not wish to be named or quoted) claimed that they were largely powerless, as agenda items were set by the

¹ Interviews conducted with Smallacombe, R, (11/9/87), O'Brien, M, (1/3/88), Aston, R, (9/3/88).

chair-person, O'Brien, who also chaired the Curriculum Coordinating Committee and the Curriculum Directorate meetings. In a very frank interview, O'Brien stated,

If I didn't want them to know anything, I didn't send them anything.¹

It appeared to some on the Advisory Curriculum Board that this was the norm, and not the exception, though it is fair to say that O'Brien used the Board as a sounding board at significant end points in the policy process (review rather than initiate), and kept them informed about new proposals and work that was in progress within the Curriculum Directorate.

This Advisory Curriculum Board remained unchanged until it was eventually given a 'shake-up' around 1982, when chair-person-ship was transferred from the Director of Curriculum to Dr I. Lawrie from Flinders University. The number of Education Department people were then significantly reduced, but the relationship between the Advisory Curriculum Board and Departmental functioning of curriculum through the Curriculum Coordinating committee remained largely unresolved. The following extract from an interview with Pallant demonstrates this point..

'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' went, at the instigation of the Director General of Education to the Advisory Curriculum Board - not for approval, but to provide advice to him as to the suitability of the final document as a curriculum framework for the State. In a similar way, the Policy Committee of the S.A. Education Dept became involved.

The Director General of Education received advice from both the Advisory Curriculum Board and Policy Committee of the South Australian Education Department, to include Literacy and Numeracy as priorities (added to the three other priorities in the draft document). There was at that time a fair degree of 'noise' about literacy and numeracy mainly associated with public debate about falling

¹ loc. cit.

standards, and with nation wide testing involving ACER¹, and commissioned by the Australian Education Council². It was politically expedient to include Literacy and Numeracy as priorities, even though in the 'Into the 80s' drafts they were considered as clear and essential components under mathematical and language studies.³

The interventions of the Advisory Curriculum Board and the Education Department Policy Committee were at the very final stages of the policy process, and alterations were made to the final drafts before they went to the printer. It appears that earlier drafts of 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' were tabled at both levels for comment after drafts had been released to schools.

Because of the operational style of O'Brien and the status of the Advisory Curriculum Board, D. Ralph, a Regional Director at the time, and a member of both the Advisory Curriculum Board and the Policy Committee, found it necessary to make an individual submission to the writing team (Curriculum Steering Committee) during the stages of policy development. This is because the input of members of the Policy Committee and Advisory Curriculum Board was generally treated in the same way by the Director of Curriculum as other respondents to the document, reducing their ability as a group to impact on final policies.

In chart 6.1 preceding this section showing the reporting relationships between the groups, the position of Deputy Director General (schools), J. Giles, appears as gatekeeper between the Director of Curriculum and the Director General of Education. He was responsible for communicating the opinions of Regional Directors, who had to

-
- ¹ ACER is an acronym for the Australian Council for Educational Research - a national body concerned with the improvement of educational offerings in schools.
 - ² A council of Commonwealth and State Ministers of Education.
 - ³ Interview with Pallant, D, Supt of Curriculum, 2/3/88

worry about implementation in the field, and could have been expected to show keen interest in policies that would impact on schools.

An interview with the Deputy Director General¹ indicated that he became far more involved with the later 'curriculum approval' processes developed between 1981 and 1985. Information given by him on his involvement was scant and information volunteered appeared to be inconsistent with that provided by the many others involved in the development of the policy document 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes'. While Giles was clearly very much involved in the development of the later 'Curriculum Authority and Responsibility' (1985) document, O'Brien's interview description probably best describes his part.

The position of Deputy Director General (Schools) did not become important in the 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' process. While the Director of Curriculum was supposed to report to the Deputy Director General (Schools), in practice the regular 3 pm weekly meeting fell by the wayside after only a month or so, and there was little discussion on curriculum matters from early 1978 forward. The arrangement was that Deputy Director General (Schools) would call on the Director of Curriculum as required - it rarely seemed to be required.²

The two most influential groups in the development of "Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes", were the group led by Smallacombe (Superintendent of Studies, with two part-time curriculum writers and a Steering Committee for support), and the group of Curriculum Directorate Superintendents who had both a formal and informal part to play. The following comment from a curriculum writer tends to summarize some of the earlier comments on stakeholders.

In the process of development of "Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes" we had no contact with the Advisory Curriculum Board. They had the same opportunity as others to respond to the drafts as they were produced. We had

¹ Interview conducted with Giles, J, Deputy Director General of Schools, October 1987.

² Interview with M. O'Brien, 1/3/88.

more direct feedback from the Curriculum Coordinating Committee. As drafts were produced they went to this committee and they made comment on them. Their comments were the most influential - other than the Steering Committee - of any of the groups we had to deal with. For example, we did not hear very much from the Policy Committee which John Steinle chaired. They may have considered drafts, but if they did we heard very little about it. The Research and Planning group had no influence at all -they lacked credibility in curriculum areas with some senior Education Department officers at the time - and it was felt that there would be more productive outcomes if they were not involved.¹

Smallacombe was given the task of establishing the final curriculum document, and chose to do so with the assistance of R. Aston - a seconded deputy Principal from Taperoo High School whose task was that of curriculum policy writer, and M. Wiseman from Oakbank Area School as executive support. A Steering Committee was established to assist the process, after responses were received from an 'Amplification of Purposes of Schools' draft written by Aston. Smallacombe describes this committee as follows.

I selected the Steering Committee. I took advice of course, but I wanted it to be quite representative. Hence individual invitations were made.

The Steering committee, by and large, carried most of the development on their own. Firstly there was the 'Amplification of the Purposes of Schools Document' about 1978 - this was a limited circulation document. Then the committee worked on two documents - the first being a theoretical statement, but then looked to priorities and fields of study. They were sent to every school and school council in the state. This brought a large response. Bob Aston and Murray Wiseman annotated every comment that came in. Universities and Colleges of Advanced Education also responded.

In the light of the responses, the final document was written. There was always the danger that amongst the feedback from teachers and Councils, we were only getting the perspectives of the highly motivated people, so that through the Directorate of Research and Planning, several officers were provided to do a random sampling of schools and groups. This confirmed response comments.²

¹ Interview with Aston, R, 10/3/88.

² loc. cit.

Both Aston and Wiseman commented on the formation of that Steering Committee. Aston summarized his thoughts this way.

The Steering Committee were formed in an arbitrary way. Murray and I produced a list of names for consideration by Roy [Smallacombe]. It was based on a number of considerations. We wanted a representative sample of schools (some primary, some junior primary, some secondary, some country, some city, some ethnic, some non ethnic, some departmental, some non departmental people). In terms of people, we chose those whom we knew about, or had heard of, or who had made significant responses to the drafts. These were people whom we felt could contribute to the process. This group were approved by Curriculum Coordinating Committee, and became 'reactors to that which had been written'.

In looking at the group, it included R. Wyatt who had just returned to the city with Area School experience, J. Maling who was a leader in the area of evaluation at the Colleges of Advanced Education, D. Pallant who had recent College of Advanced Education experience, R. Arnold, a Principal who had been constantly involved with the curriculum policies developed in the past, L. Russell who had written text books, C. Thiele a noted educator and author, B. George a Secondary Principal class 'A' with considerable country experience, M. McArthur who was a Principal Education Officer (Curriculum) with an interest in social learning, and M. McCarthy (parent) who was also a member of the Advisory Curriculum Board. With the exception of Maling, most had a personal philosophy consistent with the child centred 'progressivism'¹ of the late 1960s and early 1970s - a philosophy that dominated the final document.

The final influential curriculum group were the Superintendents of Curriculum, and the Assistant Director of Curriculum, who had the opportunity to meet informally and regularly being located together on the same floor of the Education Department building. They also met formally, when called together by O'Brien or the Assistant Director. They

¹ refer to chapter 2 under 'pervading philosophies'.

were in a position of influence (which Smallacombe acknowledges), and O'Brien as Director used their counsel frequently.

Smallacombe also used his own networks beyond the central office to gather ideas from people such as G. Boomer (then head of Wattle Park Teachers' Centre, and currently Associate Director General of Education). In addition, Smallacombe and L. Russell took it upon themselves to meet on occasions with the Director General of Education for advice (and thus by-pass Policy Committee), particularly in the final stages of document production when matters were hastened considerably. The influences of Aston and Smallacombe as authors of the final document exceeded other contributions.

In summary, the restructured Education Department, in endeavouring to develop more democratic decision making structures, established a complex web of committees and groups as well as a series of gateways and checks through which curriculum decisions would have to pass prior to the establishment of a new policy. This was made even more complex by the internal structures established within the curriculum directorate, with its own groups of stakeholders, and series of checks.

In a larger Education Department, such as New South Wales, such a complex structure may have been anticipated. However, in South Australia it meant that some bureaucrats served on a number of committees and groups, and as such were able to share or withhold information, giving them a personal power base unanticipated in the planning phase. The exercise of this power is important to this study, and is developed later in this chapter.

6.3. Setting the agenda.

As indicated earlier, the curriculum activities of Primary and Secondary groups had been momentarily curtailed in 1977, with the new Assistant Director of Curriculum,

Smallacombe, writing to Principal groups to cancel planned conferences looking at curriculum structures for Junior Secondary Schools. This and other curriculum initiatives motivated in part by Commonwealth Schools Commission activities, and in part by the realisation that schools needed to become more professional and active in curriculum policy matters, were described in the latter part of the last chapter. How then did the issue of the purposes of schooling re-arise as an agenda issue?

A CORD conference¹ was held in late February 1978, and at that conference certain responsibilities were negotiated for the Directors of 'Curriculum', 'Personnel', and 'Research and Planning', as part of the reorganised structure. This led to the preparation of an Education Department planning document which was never published. It was prepared for a Labor Government where Hopgood was Minister of Education, and contained clear statements of objectives, and how they were to be achieved. It was tabular in format under headings such as broad objectives, specific objectives, methods, time lines, and resources. It was never published as the Labor Government (led by D. Corcoran) suffered defeat in September 1979 at the hands of the Liberal Party (then led by D. Tonkin). The new Education Minister, H. Allison, wished to distance himself from anything Labor had started. H. Allison, in pre-election speeches, had made it clear that Government would hold the Education Department more accountable for its curriculum and outcomes, and that performance would be measured for both funding and accountability purposes.

However, as the Director General of Education, and not the Minister of Education, was responsible for Curriculum under the Act, and as the CORD conference had also indicated it was time to be more definitive about curriculum, O'Brien kept his copy of the planning document, and used it as a basic charter for the Directorate.

¹ CORD is an acronym for 'Central Office and Regional Directors' who met twice a year to establish policy direction.

Throughout 1980, an uneasiness developed within the Curriculum Directorate, as the Minister sought guarantees of standards from the Director General of Education within the schools administered by the South Australian Education Department. There was some fear that the Minister of Education might bring the State into line with all other States of Australia, by assuming full responsibility for curriculum. Apart from the loss of control, they were concerned about the relevance of some politically driven initiatives, a loss of curriculum quality, and the introduction of standardized testing. While it would mean a change to the Education Act, both the Director of Curriculum and Assistant Director believed it could well occur.¹

In a public article, O'Brien wrote explaining what he saw as the task of the Curriculum Directorate². The following lengthy extract from the headline article gives both a summary and insight into emerging issues.

The 'Purposes for Schools' statement, a key document outlining in broad terms the goals of schools in South Australia, is to be amplified to improve its relevance to schools.

The amplification will take the form of a follow-up document which will help schools plan and select curricula, and adopt suitable teaching methods.

Seen by many as a basic educational charter encompassing curriculum, organisation, and interpersonal relationships in schools, 'The Purposes of Schools' has been used by a number of schools as a starting point in planning curricula and school philosophies.

¹ Interviews with Smallacombe, R, (11/9/87), O'Brien, M, (1/3/88).

² O'Brien had committed himself in print in a new Education Department newspaper called *Inside Education* where in an interview he recalled his statements made prior to CORD conference to Senior Executive. O'Brien felt committed to the Programme, as it was delivered in front of D. Mercer, Chairperson of the Public Service Board, who had attended Senior Executive as a visitor. 'Senior Executive' was a term generally used for the meeting of the Director General of Education and his two Deputies. Other officers were invited to attend from time to time to talk about directions in their Directorates. Other times, 'Senior Executive' was used loosely as a term to describe the 'Policy Committee'.

It has been the basis on which curriculum committees have worked when designing syllabuses.

Designed on principles outlined in the Karmel Report on Education in South Australia, it was first published in 1971 with revisions in 1975.

However, it has faced a number of criticisms; among them that it is too vague, and that it offers no real guide to schools because the broad statement it contains can be used to justify almost anything.

The task of amplifying the statement is being undertaken by the Curriculum Directorate, with input to come from schools, parents, employers, the colleges of advanced education and the public.

The Director of Curriculum, Mr Maurice O'Brien, has stated that the aim is to amplify the statement and to describe its application to school practices.

"The purpose is to produce a document which is relevant to the needs of schools and to the views of their staffs. It is not part of an evaluation programme

"It is a response to many requests for clearer statements about curriculum planning and related teaching methods

"There is a feeling in some places that the Education Department is going to prescribe curriculum so that it can be evaluated more easily, that in some way this is a 'political' move. It is not.

"In fact, the process began nearly two years ago when consideration was been given to describing a new framework for the junior secondary curriculum.

"The development of the R-12 concept in the meantime meant that the Curriculum Directorate had to look at the total curriculum. This is part of the process," Mr O'Brien said.¹

¹ *Inside Education*, 1978, South Australian Education Department Staff Newspaper. vol. 1, no. 9, October,

The article continued, giving a time-table to the consultative processes, and providing reassurance to schools that their input would be paramount in determining the content of the final document.

In summary, the revision of 'The Purposes of Schools' document became an agenda item once again in response to a number of internal and external issues quite consistent with the analysis provided by Hogwood and Gunn in determining why an item should gain inclusion for policy consideration.

There were a number of clear internal reasons for the matter of the purposes of schools re-emerging as an agenda item at this time in South Australia. Firstly, O'Brien, as the new Director of Curriculum needed the security of a real task for his newly formed Directorate¹, secondly school Principals wanted clearer guide-lines regarding their role in curriculum, and a framework for school based curriculum development. There was a frustrated expectancy generated from 1976 onwards that the Education Department would work with schools to provide curriculum direction. Finally the Director General of Education, Steinle, wanted a clear position paper for his Department to provide both direction and accountability for curriculum. He believed the exercise in planning a mission statement was worthwhile in itself.

The external reasons included the desire of Government for greater accountability for what schools were doing. There were strong pragmatic reasons as Government was moving towards programme performance budgeting, and philosophical reasons coming both from Government and community views of what should schools be doing, and to a lesser extent, from small groups of professional reformers.

¹ Interview with O'Brien, M. 1/3/88.

Collectively, these internal and external pressures ensured that the purposes of schools received priority on the Curriculum Directorate agenda.

6.4. Policy Processes and the Work of the Steering Committee.

J. Steinle, Director General of Education during this period of policy development 1978 - 1981, assigned Smallacombe to the task of developing a new statement of purposes for schooling.

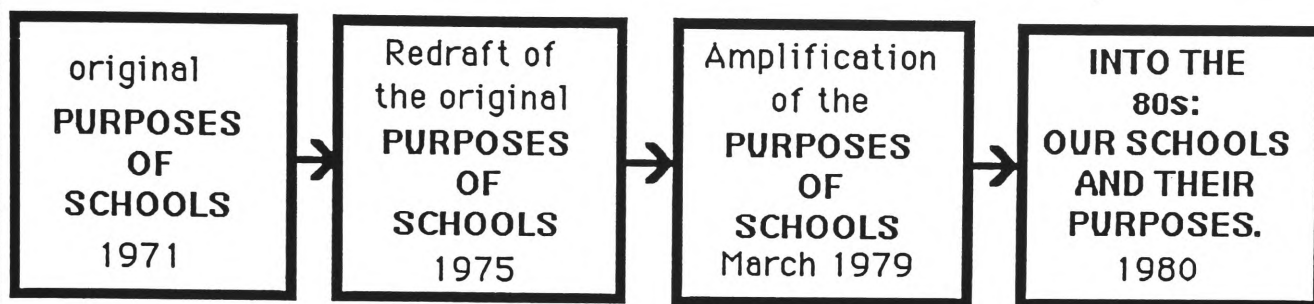
I wrote to Roy when he did his Masters'. Roy did a very good Masters Thesis, and was in the United States when I wrote. I had suggested to him that we really ought to push this idea (developing a new policy stance on the purposes of schooling) when he got back. The revised document, in a sense, grew straight out of his work overseas. The processes used were Roy's while Maurice became the salesman for the project. Maurice was good at that.

The other major architect was Bob Aston. He did a tremendous job of pulling all the ideas together that emerged from numerous sources. Murray Wiseman also did a lot of the donkey work, but it was Aston who brought together the many disparate ideas, and found the words that made up the document.¹

In August 1978, Aston and Wiseman were appointed to begin the work of 'amplifying' the 'Purposes of Schools' statement. In September they visited approximately twenty schools at various levels, locations and size, and discussed educational issues with key personnel. A questionnaire and paper was distributed before each visit to provide a focus for discussion. Key persons in Colleges of Advanced Education (but not Universities, as their influence had controlled the Senior Secondary curriculum through external examinations to this point) were also interviewed. Diagram 6.2. was given to schools to illustrate the sequence that would be followed.

¹ Interview with Steinle, John R. 3/11/88. (notes page 6)

The Purposes of Schools



Flow chart produced (late 1978)

Diagram 6.2. Planning Flow Chart – Curriculum Policy Development, (1978)

In their report to the Director of Curriculum, Aston and Wiseman identified a number of issues, including

Teachers (were) seeking clearer guide-lines in curriculum matters and it seems that they are prepared to accept a greater degree of direction or prescription in areas of curriculum felt to be of fundamental importance, such as literacy and numeracy¹

They concluded that a broad curriculum framework with a mandatory core of language and basic mathematics, check-lists of social survival skills, a list of learning skills, syllabuses with suggested content and some priorities, support 'tools' for school based curriculum development and an increase in support services would be an acceptable amplification of the 'Purposes of Schools' document.

The report stated that 'schools would be quite happy to work from standard, specific syllabuses, at least as a starting point.'

Aston and Wiseman identified a number of concerns expressed by schools. These included the uncertainty about directions expected by the Education Department,

¹

Aston, R. & Wiseman, M, 1978, *First Progress Report on the Amplification of the Purposes of Schools*, - S.A. Education Department Archives.

unavailability of structured detailed Departmentally approved courses in some curriculum areas, and lack of expertise and time for school based curriculum development.

The Curriculum Directorate accepted the findings of this report and

undertook to produce a companion document to 'The Purposes of Schools' which would examine and derive implications for further action implied in the document itself.¹

It was also suggested that wide consultation, guidance, and comments be sought.

A second report was written outlining a possible approach to developing the 'Amplification of the Purposes of Schools' document. This received support from the Curriculum Coordinating Committee, and Aston set about producing the document for comment. Budget and time constraints meant that this document was given limited circulation to Regions for comment.² There were some 100 responses, and a Steering Committee was formed to look closely at the reaction of schools, and to guide further drafts.

In a letter written by Aston in 1978 to respondents to the 'Amplification of the Purposes of Schools' it states that

teachers and parents clearly want a concise statement of policies and practice consistent with 'The Purposes of Schools' we realise that you may not have had time to respond in as much detail as you would have likedwe hope that you will be able to see the effects of some of your suggestions in the next draft, although, because of the range, and diversity of opinion expressed it will clearly not be possible to accept all suggestions

¹ Minute 'No 15/1/211', 1978, to the Director General of Education from the Director of Curriculum, S.A. Education Department Archives.

² Minutes of Policy Committee Meeting, held 22/2/79, where distribution approval was given, S.A. Education Department Archives.

The role of the 'Steering Committee' was to look at responses and plan document revisions. Wiseman described the process as follows.

The Steering Committee were given rewrites of the drafts done by Roy [Smallacombe] and Bob [Aston], and their role was to react to them. In particular, they had to decide on how many areas of curriculum there were to be, and to determine what should be the aims in each area. The group were a polishing group, rather than a creative group. They had access to all the school responses if they wanted them, but really there was too much for them to go through. My method of assisting was to go through and write out the key phrases in each response, and to try to categorize those. These summaries (which related to the original source drafts) were made available to them.¹

J. Coonan, a 'commerce senior'², and member of the Steering Committee, described some of the debate as follows. Information from this and a number of other interviews are recorded here to give some insight into role of the committee and power relationships as they are relevant to the study.

We seemed to be responding to material already written, as well as expounding on ideas and directions we thought the document should take. I don't recall how the first drafts came into being - I don't think they were compiled by the committee.

The Steering Committee was mainly a reacting group - it did not do much writing. It did influence direction, particularly in the debate about the areas of the curriculum, where the strong faculty interests needed to be broken down, with greater attention being given to the political, economic, and social dimensions. Don Pallant and Malcolm McArthur agreed on the need to see this influence, and eventually the priority areas were added to underpin the curriculum areas. The 'life in society' dimension received the greatest discussion, but did not get included early in the piece.

¹ Interview with Wiseman, M, 1/3/88.

² Faculty Senior is the first promotion position in a Secondary School in South Australia. Such an officer would supervise up to 5 others within a faculty.

I recall lengthy discussions about work experience, physical education, health education, and moral values. The debate about a broad general education as opposed to vocational education, and the issue of whether or not "Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes" should be a R-10 or R-12 document occupied considerable time. It wasn't until late in the piece that it was decided that this could only deal with the years of compulsion. Beyond these years the same level of curriculum prescription seemed unnecessary (I believe another document called 'Beyond Compulsion' was developed later). Transition Education was another area of committee debate.

The 'Schools Curriculum 1' document provided useful background for discussions. We used this as a check list for the documents.

Jill Maling's contribution was often esoteric, but people like Bob Wyatt and Rex Arnold kept bringing us back to the realities of what would be possible in schools. Rex constantly challenged us to think more laterally. Marion McCarthy kept the parent perspective alive. Brenton George was also very much down to earth. My 'beef' was the disadvantages that often faced girls in the commercial area, who had no formal end point to their education except for a school leavers' statement that wasn't well received at that point in time.

I think most of the curriculum drafts were written by Bob Aston. He has quite a distinctive style (He wrote the 'Do it yourself Curriculum Guide' some years before, and a lot of the strong points of this came through in the early drafts, while still making clear expectations and belief statements). The Steering Committee did provide feedback on the document structure, and its final title.

Comments from other members of the Steering Committee were also helpful in understanding processes and power relationships. An interview with Dr M. McArthur, a Principal Education Officer and member of this Steering Committee provided a further perspective.

The Steering Committee met together on a number of occasions at Wattle Park Teachers' Centre (at least once at a 2 day workshop). It was an initiating and direction setting committee - not an approving committee. It was closer to a think tank group. For example, as a result of a particular push, Transition Education was added as one of the Curriculum Areas, while it wasn't exactly the will of the

Steering Committee. It was added later, because Transition Education was the 'flavour of the month', and that may attract Commonwealth money. This was opportunism, and Geoff Hodgson, who had the transition brief in the Curriculum Directorate probably influenced Roy Smallacombe to add this.

I can remember feeling a sense of powerlessness, as the final document came under a variety of influences beyond the committee. Rex Arnold was influential at one stage, while Roy (Smallacombe) gave the document its final shape. I had a similar experience with the Curriculum Development Centre core curriculum group (Canberra)¹ where we met together over some days. When you are creating something ex novo maybe such a group has to be 'general strands', 'emphases', 'purpose' group, and in this case as with the Core Curriculum Document, it had to be finally written by one person - our role was more editorial.

The two day workshop with Steering Committee members held in June 1979, considered the issues of purpose, audience, policies, and priorities, plan and organisation of the document(s), and tone and length. Diagrams 6.3. and 6.4. in this chapter were probably produced around this stage or perhaps even earlier. Diagram 6.4. is of particular interest, as it makes no mention of the Advisory Curriculum Board in the policy development process. The Curriculum Coordinating Committee is not specifically pictured either, though Aston and Wiseman believe this group came under the umbrella of the Curriculum Directorate (and are not shown in an effort to keep their chart simple).

¹ This committee produced a booklet called *Core Curriculum for Australian Schools: What it is and Why it is Needed*, 1980, Curriculum Development Centre, Canberra Aust, June,

DOCUMENT	CONTENTS	POSSIBLE DATES OF RELEASE.
PART ONE PURPOSES.	<p>(1) Beliefs about Education and Schools in South Australia.</p> <p>(2) Aims of Education</p>	<p>• Draft for wide reaction March, 1980</p> <p>• Final policy statement September, 1980 - February 81</p>
PART TWO GUIDE- LINES FOR SCHOOLS.	<p>(1) Curriculum Framework</p> <p>(2) Priorities in Curriculum</p> <p>(3) Prescribed CORE for some subjects YEARS 3-10.</p> <p>(4) Secondary "CORE" Subjects.</p> <p>(5) Implications of Part One for Curriculum and School Organisat'n</p>	As for part one.
PART THREE RESOURCE PAPERS.	<p>(1) Models for School Curriculum</p> <p>(2) Organisation - Time allocns etc</p> <p>(3) Principles of Learning.</p> <p>(4) Maturation and Child Development. etc.</p>	September, 1980 - February, 1981.

Into the 80s: The Purposes of Schools.

Diagram 6.3. Time Lines & Planning for Curriculum Policy.
Source: Personal files of Robert Aston, Curriculum Writer.

Into the 80s - Parts One and Two.

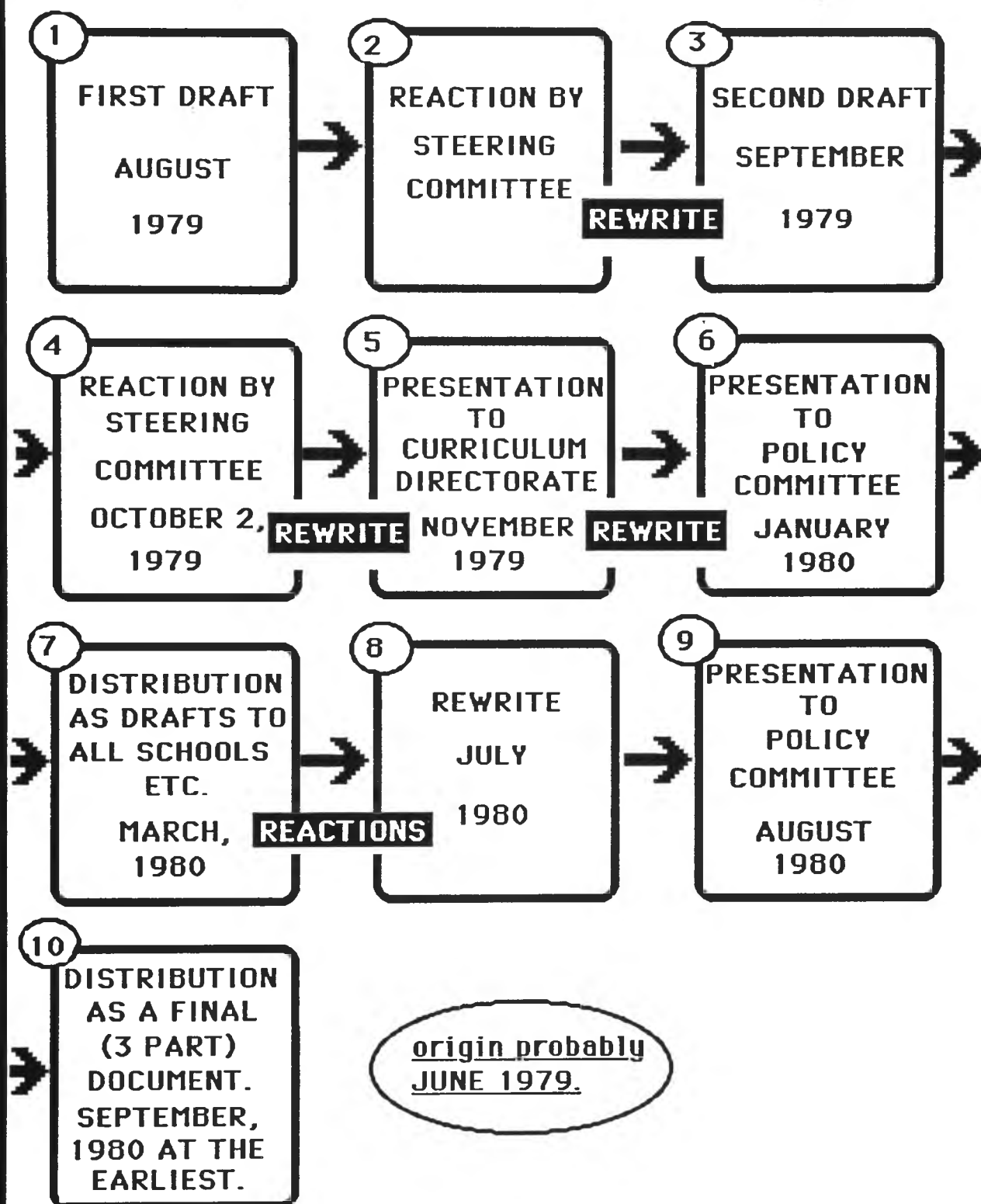


Diagram 6.4. Undated Flow Chart taken from R Aston's personal files.

In July 1979, a recommendation was made to change the format and title to 'Into the 80s'. The proposal was to restate the 'purposes' in practical terms and use language directed at the general reader. These recommendations were endorsed by the Education Department policy Committee in December 1979.

In March and May 1980 two draft documents were distributed to a wide audience including all schools, Colleges of Advanced Education, and other tertiary institutions. Four hundred written responses were received.

Aston had this to say about the issues and structure of the planned policy document as discussed by the Steering Committee.

The eight Curriculum Areas grew out of our earlier preoccupation with compulsory subjects, and the notions of a core curriculum. This was one of the strands. We had also looked at various other documents circulating at the time. There were United Kingdom documents looking at the notions of Core Curriculum. Curriculum Development Centre (Canberra) were producing a core curriculum document at the same time, and I had conversations with Ed Davis, who was writing for Canberra [some mutual influence]. We did not set out with the notion of so many priorities and expectations. There were a number of things we felt we had to say, and as we tried to put them all together, and an organisational structure emerged. Some things were Education Department requirements (skills)- others we did not wish to be as directive about, but keep them as expectations with greater flexibility in their interpretation.

There was a notion of required areas of curriculum, to ensure that there was a balance in educational provisions. These structures emerged as we went along.

At the very final stages of debate the Curriculum Coordinating Committee suggested that we should reinforce the 'basics' because of the large amount of community criticism about standards at this time. Policy Committee also suggested such a statement. I did not object at all, as it strengthened the document (the hard liners did not believe that communication skills covered literacy and numeracy).

Moral Education was not a significant issue. Malcolm McArthur had a leaning towards its inclusion, and raised it at Steering Committee meetings, but there was not much support for that. The UK experience made me wary of its inclusion. The same debate applied to Religious Education. At one stage there was a suggestion that we make it a Christian social context, with its values stood up front.

The other area of debate was the technology front. Everyone recognised it as important, but weren't sure how to deal with it, or where to include it.

The languages multi-cultural issue also emerged (should each child learn another language). On reflection, the aboriginal culture failed to be discussed or included - it would rate inclusion now as an issue. If I was to rewrite the document now, I would seriously consider adding another language as an expectation - possibly even an Asian one.¹

The Steering Committee got to the stage of deliberation where the overall framework was fairly clear, and from that point forward it was called together less frequently until it ceased to exist. The explanation appears to be that the process was moving too slowly, and Smallacombe was anxious to release a final document. Pallant had this to say.

The three people finally responsible for the words making up the document were Roy Smallacombe, Don Pallant, and Bob Parsons. Bob Aston by that time was no longer available as executive officer, and for the first few months of 1981, there was just the group of three. Some significant changes were made - the format and final headings came from Roy Smallacombe and myself (Don Pallant). The labels used for the 8 areas of Curriculum, and the labels of the 4 priorities were determined at this stage. The other major change at this stage was the inclusion of a statement about curriculum approval. This was done in the penultimate draft, with Pallant and Smallacombe negotiating this directly with the Director General. It was put to the Director General that if this was to be a policy statement that was to be binding on all schools, some mechanism for enforcing, policing, monitoring, or supervising was needed, if the policy was to have teeth. This was particularly the case if the document was to be a curriculum framework policy, and hence the

¹ Interview with Aston, R, 10/3/88.

'authors' recommended to the Director General of Education that all school curriculum policies must be approved. This brief but significant nine lined statement was thus incorporated.

At this stage, there was no suggestion that the Curriculum Coordinating Committee would be discontinued. The major motivation was to give the Principal Education Officers some 'clout' in the provision of educational leadership in schools. I had only recently gained Superintendent status, and was aware of the Principal Education Officer curriculum frustrations. The Director General of Education and writers agreed that this would provide the necessary control of curriculum at a school level, and this should become the legitimate (and prime educational) responsibility of a field Principal Education Officer.

It was envisaged that a subsequent document called 'Curriculum Authority and Responsibility' would have to be written, as well as resource paper support to amplify aspects of 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes'.¹

While the information in the above statement was accurate in terms of the Curriculum Directorate involvement, the opening statement is refuted by both Aston and Smallacombe. Smallacombe says this about the final production of the document.

Bob Aston and I sat down and did the final write, although the first decisions had to be made about the philosophical bases for the document, and the way it should go to print. Then there were several members of the Steering Committee wrote certain sections from the suggested ideas emerging from the Steering Committee work. Hence we had an accumulation of bits and pieces. A very valuable process had been the feedback, and the careful documentation of that feedback. The steering or reference committee considered then that a document like this needed to be in one volume.

The final processes meant that some chapters had to be re-arranged in the order that was planned - some information needed to be rejected - but also there was some such as the responsibility chapters (parents, teachers, students) that had to be written. The committee had been unable to agree on how they should be

¹ Interview with Pallant, D, Supt of Curriculum, 2/3/88

written, and finally the reference committee were happy for Bob Aston and I to apply our combined minds to it.

We wrote up about half the book each and then interacted, finally producing a draft of the final document. The final section on extracting the policies appeared the most difficult, and finally that task became mine to overcome the indecision of the groups consulted about it.

When invited to comment on the forces bringing about the last minute changes to the document, O'Brien says,

The document did have a political purpose. It was to impress schools that these were the things they ought to be doing. They should begin with these things, such as literacy and numeracy. This document was always to be a manifesto - a curriculum statement that would also stand up to academic scrutiny.

The document remained an attempt to be more precise about the curriculum component in schools. It tried to steer a path between those who wanted a core curriculum in the sense of 'you will teach Mathematics, Science, English, etc...' We weren't comfortable with the Commonwealth Curriculum Development Centre drafts, nor with the Minister of Education (Harold Allison) who was telling the Director General of Education that he was all in favour of re-introducing examinations at various levels, as well as objective testing of all students at various stages of their schooling.

It is interesting that Mr Allison received the "Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes" document from John Steinle. It was organised so that I would present the document to the Director General of Education, who would accept it as policy, and then present it to Harold Allison as a statement of what we were doing.

Clearly the influential groups in the final stages were the Advisory Curriculum Board, the group of Superintendents in the Curriculum Directorate, the Steering Committee, and the Curriculum Coordinating Committee.

I was the band master, knowing what was being said in each of the groups.

In January 1981, the Steering Committee met for the last time. At that stage they had worked and re-worked several drafts of the the two volumes produced but did not yet have a final product. As the document did have a political and symbolic purpose, there was some urgency to have the final document released about the same time as the Commonwealth Curriculum Development Centre's (Canberra) counterpart on Core Curriculum¹, and Smallacombe busied himself on producing a final document. He comments,

Any haste was associated with the political urgency to stave off any government move to assume control of the curriculum. The document had been in its embryonic form since 1979, and as we had agreed on a title 'Into the 80s', we did not wish to proceed too far into the 80s. The document needed a nudge, and hence John Steinle put some form of time limit on it. The political purposes prompted some action, as did the fact that some expectation had been established following the various drafts and feedback. The product was necessary for the credibility of the new directorate.²

When asked why he felt there was a sudden rush to produce the 1981 document thus truncating the consultative processes, the Director General of Education, Steinle, had this to say.

I was getting frustrated, and I got very angry about it. I had advised schools of the documents, and put my name on the papers, but they just weren't forthcoming. I was being given the run around, so I finally set a date for their completion. It fell to Roy. Even though Maurice could write well, finding the energy to do so proved a problem, and hence Roy and Bob Aston produced the final draft. It was very frustrating. For some reason, Bob Aston was returned to a school (end of his secondment?) just prior to the completion of the document. When he was moved back to a school he was terribly hurt, and justifiably so. Hence Roy had to pick up the loose ends and complete the project. I have no doubt

¹ Core Curriculum for Australian Schools: What it is and Why it is Needed, 1980, op. cit.

² Interview with Smallacombe, R, Assistant Director of Curriculum, 11/9/87.

in my mind, much of the procrastination came from Don Pallant as he became more involved in the final stages of the project.¹

In a memorandum to the Director General (4/2/81) from the Director of Curriculum, O'Brien wrote

The final document presented now is quite different in tone, language, organisation, and certain content from the drafts produced in early 1980.

The most significant differences are:

- 1. A single document is proposed. The length is not too great, the document is more coherent, and the cost will be lower as a result.*
- 2. The language is simpler and more precise.*
- 3. The tone of the document is stronger.*
- 4. The three aspects of social and educational influences, the curriculum framework and responsibilities relevant to those in the S.A Education Department are blended in the one document.*
- 5. A clear statement of policies is included.*

Ultimately, two last minute delays occurred. The Advisory Curriculum Board recommended amendments to pages 24 - 29 (the Priorities for Schools) of 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes', and the CORD conference Number Six of the 25th February 1981 determined that it should NOT be released until after the Keeves Enquiry Report had been published.² Though the reasons for CORD seeking delays is not clear from the minutes, my recollections of discussions as a person present at that meeting, indicate that the reasons were political. It was believed that by delaying the document

¹ Interview with Steinle, J, Director General of Education, 3/11/88.

² Minutes of the CORD Conference held on the 25th February 1981, held in the Convention Centre, 2nd floor, Education Centre. (Note: CORD replaced 'Policy Committee' meetings once per term (three per year), and became a policy approving body chaired by the Director General of Education).

until after the Keeves Enquiry Report and the Commonwealth Curriculum Development Centre Core Curriculum document¹, that there would be greater impact on schools.

The final document was released on the 11th of June, 1981 - one month after the Commonwealth Curriculum Development Centre officially released its 'Core Curriculum for Australian Schools', and some ten years after the initial ten point statement on the 'Purposes of Schools'. It was a single document which had changed considerably from one planned by Principals and teachers in the mid 1970s with clear ends and means in mind, to one where ends only were expressed, with a promise of resource papers to help guide schools as to the means.

In summary, the Steering Committee was formed as part of the process of policy development. It was viewed by schools as part of a democratic process. Members saw as their responsibility the development of a concise curriculum statement for schools, which gave a broad curriculum framework to allow developments at a local level around a specified core. In effect, they were only reactors to draft policies and an ideas committee who looked at general strands and emphases, and tried to give clarity of direction to the writers.

The real curriculum policy power remained in the first instances with the writers, who developed a framework for schools with the assistance of the Steering Committee over a two year period. As the document neared readiness for publication, it became subject to other influences of a political nature. The Advisory Curriculum Board, the Curriculum Coordinating Committee, and Superintendents within the Curriculum Directorate were all able to influence the final single publication, as were influential individuals such as Smallacombe as a writer, and O'Brien as the Director responsible for the document.

¹ Core Curriculum for Australian Schools: What it is and Why it is Needed, 1980, op. cit.

The final 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' was a charter for schools. It steered a pathway between Core Curriculum with prescription and curriculum freedom and responsibility at a school level. It once again gave the Director General of Education control of the curriculum used in schools, and would suffice to stave off any likely Government moves to take control of the curriculum from the Director General of Education.

The disjointed incrementalism associated with the development of the 1975 'Purposes of Schools' document described by Kirst and Walker (and summarized in chapter three) as a common public policy approach had again been the dominant method of policy development for 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' (1981). There was an acceptance of the broad outlines of the existing situation with only marginal changes contemplated; a consideration of a restricted variety of policy alternatives; an adjustment of objectives to policies; a willingness to formulate data as it became available; and serial analysis and piecemeal alterations rather than a single comprehensive attack at the policy problem. This continued until political urgency truncated the process.

Elboim-Dror (1970), in looking at public policy argues that *'Decision making can be described as a tradition bound, slow sequence of incremental changes with sudden inspirational jumps when a crisis arises.'* This is an apt description of processes leading to 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' (1981), and further supports her statement that *'Incremental decision-making seems to be a common pattern in most organizations, but in education it is dominant.'*¹

The processes described above also confirm the comments of Boyd², where he notes the policy tensions between the national directions and that happening at a State

1 Elboim - Dror, R, 1970, op. cit, pp. 231-253.

2 Boyd, William L, 1983, op. cit, pp. 1 - 24.

level. At the national level, Boyd described a set of machines lubricated by professionals attentive to potential crisis and devoted to heroic visions, non-incremental reform, and their own career advancement. On the other side of the labyrinthine, 'loosely coupled' system by which education is governed at the sub-national levels and ultimately delivered at the local level. Boyd observed that the extraordinary complexity and the massive inertia of this loosely linked system could easily transform heroic ventures into pedestrian projects.

These conclusions of Boyd are epitomized in the South Australian setting, though other influencing factors were present, such as the need for restructuring of the South Australian Education system as an outcome of declining enrolments, declining resources, and declining confidence in the system. In turn, the declining enrolments were accompanied by increases in the proportion of the educationally disadvantaged minority in government schools.

In this time of contracting student numbers and revenues, there were increased demands for specialized educational services (for example, compensatory, special and bilingual education as highlighted in the Commonwealth Karmel Report¹). These needs were in competition with regular educational programmes, and in this respect Boyd's observations of events in America was mirrored in South Australia.

6.5. Personalities and Internal Politics in Policy Development.

While the structures as charted for curriculum policy developments were complex, they were further complicated by the influence of key stakeholders. As already indicated, the value systems of the operative groups proved less significant than anticipated by the researcher, while the influence of a small number of personalities proved to be

¹ Karmel, Peter H, 1973, *Schools in Australia: Interim Committee for the Australian Schools Commission, op. cit.*

considerable. In a small educational system such as found in South Australia, where individuals were able to serve on a number of committees in different capacities, this phenomenon could have been anticipated. This section looks at the influence of key personnel in the curriculum policy development process, and how their roles and influence changed through the period of policy development.

O'Brien, as Director of Curriculum, became the gatekeeper in the project, for he chaired the Advisory Curriculum Board, the Curriculum Coordinating Committee, the Curriculum Directorate meetings, and was a participating member of the CORD conference, and the Policy Committee. He was able to effectively hasten or delay the project as necessary, and influenced each group in the way he related to them.

M O'Brien was influenced by the reading he was doing at the time - particularly the writings of the English writer M. Warnock, whose beliefs about education relate closely to the 'Idealist' sociologies¹. However, as O'Brien left the curriculum writing to others, Warnock's stance was not reflected in document drafts, though some idealist statements emerged beyond the committee stage as a result of deliberations of the Advisory Curriculum Board.

When asked about the addition of the priorities of 'literacy and numeracy' to the final draft, O'Brien was prepared to declare some personal values.

I would have been keen to see Literacy and Numeracy as a priority It was one of my beliefs (and still is of course) that unless you are literate and numerate, you can't meet the other priorities. In hindsight it was a good thing that it was added as a specific statement.²

¹ See chapter two, Political Context - Section 2.1.

² Interview with O'Brien, M. 1/3/88.

As observed, O'Brien acted as a gatekeeper in the systems passage of the draft documents, and he remained remote from the writing process. He says in interview,

After setting up the priorities for the directorate, my close involvement gave way to others, except to ask questions about progress and process. Roy Smallacombe actually supervised the process and the writing. I let the group go, and I came in again at the Advisory Curriculum Board level which I chaired.¹

Aston, amongst his other roles, was asked to be the curriculum writer for this project. He had completed a course in 'Curriculum Studies' at Sturt College of Advanced Education, and was influenced by the thoughts of Dr G. Speedy (his course supervisor) in his approach to the task. When appointed as a curriculum writer, he consulted with Speedy, and sought his advice on the curriculum development processes. While a number of curriculum models were examined, the development of documents does not suggest any highly structured model was used. The methodological influence of P. Phenix is evident², and Aston admitted that he had a leaning towards this approach.

We seemed to be free of any interference from higher levels. There was no direct intervention to say what line the final document should take (by John Steinle or anyone - no comment was ever passed on to me). We were remarkably free from that type of pressure. We were given a job to do, and the opportunity to do it.

There appeared to be a fair degree of consensus on matters in the Steering Committee. Education was seen to have a social purpose, and other purposes were not discussed.³

At no stage during this process was 'what constitutes responsible citizenship' or 'what are social purposes' seen as problematic.

¹ *ibid.*

² Phenix, Philip H, 1964, *Realms of Meaning*, New York: McGraw - Hill Book Company, p. 8.

³ Interview with Aston, R, 10/3/88.

While Aston was clearly influenced by Phenix, he also maintained a number of other educational priorities relating to content and product, that contradicted the 'progressivism' of the model. The emphasis of the document drafts showed a leaning towards an acceptance of the established mythos about attitudes and values in a democracy - some of these notions had become second nature to participants who had become familiar with the thrust of the Karmel Report in 1970.

Aston's influence is significant, for he was almost solely responsible for the development of the draft documents.

I wrote 85% to 90% of the final draft - earlier drafts I claim to have written more. The final draft was produced by Roy [Smallacombe] and myself in an all day exercise at Wattle Park Teachers' Centre.¹

As already demonstrated, this information contradicts statements provided earlier in an interview with Pallant. Evidence gained from actors of the period suggest that the text is probably very much Aston's, but the headings and structure to the policy document were determined by Smallacombe, probably in consultation with others such as Pallant.

The process used was more ad-hoc than the researcher anticipated, and the bias of involved individuals is evident. That is, the writing represented individual views rather than a researched and planned view by the South Australian Education Department.

In the early drafts of the document the model emphasised process, with the framework suggestion being similar to that recommended by Phenix. While conceding that schools were, above all, institutions of learning, the draft documents gave very strong support to the school's role in fostering personal and social development. The

¹ **ibid.**

language used to encompass the school's aspirations reinforced the drive towards ultimate goals of happiness and well being for graduate students as they took up responsible citizenship¹ Words such as 'usefulness', 'effectiveness', 'productivity', 'making', and 'acting', did not achieve as much prominence in the 'Amplification of Purposes' document as did views linked with child-centred progressivism.

Smallacombe was the leader and architect in reaching the final product using the drafts prepared and negotiated with schools by Aston and Wiseman. His vision, more than anyone else, appears to have brought the project to a successful conclusion. He says of 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes'

Issues OSTP [Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes] tried to resolve are issues left unresolved right around the world, as the governments have been slow to understand that schools are social institutions. They thought of them only as places of academic learning. Australia is a good example. With the mounting social pressures more and more is expected of schools, for schools are the last coherent social institution that all citizens pass through. (some examples are AIDS education, equal opportunities, protective behaviours - the social responsibilities of schools continues to grow!).

One of the main intentions of the "Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes" document was to break down some of the conventions with the regards to schooling. It was in our minds at the time to use the document to break down some of the tight conventions for a quite different total school population. For example, in the secondary schools of SA - because of their hierarchical natures there were very strong faculties.

When you start to talk about aims rather than content - when you start talking about the development of students rather than the teaching methods and norm referenced results for subjects - you are chipping away at the traditional approaches to education. In that regard "Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes"

¹ Aston, R. & Wiseman, M, 1978, *The Amplification of the Purposes of Schools*, Vols 1 and 2, South Australian Education Department. p. 8.

appears that it did not go far enough as we have a new generation of students - many of whom are alienated in their compulsory years and are still in faculties.¹

Smallacombe became very powerful in influencing the final structure of the 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' document. The final document was not considered at all by the Steering Committee. Smallacombe made direct representation with Pallant to Director General Steinle, suggesting additions to the text to make the new policies binding. The Director General of Education supported his suggestions, and they were included in the final draft which was considered by the Advisory Curriculum Board for suitability as a policy statement. The final document therefore strongly reflected Smallacombe's personal 'progressive' philosophies about the purposes of schooling.

The other significant power figure in the development of the final policy document was Pallant. He had an influence as a member of the Steering Committee, influence as a member of the Curriculum Coordinating Committee (especially as chair-person of the forward planning Committee), and influence as a member of the Curriculum Directorate, as well as being an invited member to other groups from time to time. It was Pallant's 'inspiration' to add the curriculum approval requirement, and he was clearly a supporter of Literacy and Numeracy being added as a priority in the final document. A great deal of advice to the curriculum writer and the Steering Committee came from Pallant, as chairperson of the Forward Planning Committee. He had real strengths in editing, and this skill was particularly useful to the Steering Committee.

Pallant's involvement in the 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' increased substantially following the publication of the final document, as he became a central figure in the development of the 'Into the 80s - Curriculum Authority and Responsibility' support document.

¹ Interview conducted with Smallacombe, R, 11/9/87.

Several other observations relating to the personalities and process are worth recording here before summarizing the section.

Leaders in the South Australian system, and those responsible for writing up the curriculum policies, came to recognize at an early stage that because of the diversity of values within society as articulated by teachers, parents, and others, educational goals had to be broad (rather than specific) and clearly articulated and understood.

The consultative model used by Aston, and the system structures described earlier in this chapter and established by Steinle resembled the loosely coupled model advocated by Weick¹. In this model he recognized that control and co-ordination was not always as rational and efficient as a bureaucratic model requires. The model injected the idea of fluidity, rather than rigidity, and acknowledged that goals were sometimes ill-defined and variable, as were the means of achieving them.

The loosely coupled model predicated flexible interaction between the component parts of an organization. In South Australia this was a characteristic of the ways in which teachers operated within schools, schools functioned in a regional and state structure, and regions functioned in relation to the central administration. In a small state system such as South Australia, this was a preferable model to that of centralized bureaucratic control advocated by some other theorists.

Loose coupling existed between the various stakeholder groups, and between individual members of each group of stakeholders. The highly participatory model used to construct drafts of 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' created some uncertainty and potential conflict, as different players brought different agendas to the task. Teachers, for example, reporting to the Steering Committee wanted a statement of

¹ Weick, K, 1976, *Educational Organisations as Loosely Coupled Systems*, *Administrative Science Quarterly*, no. 21, pp. 1-19.

clear goals and the means to achieve them, Principal Education Officers wanted to regain some lost control of curriculum issues in schools, and the Director of Curriculum wanted a manifesto for political purposes that would clearly guide curriculum direction for the next decade.

Within the groups themselves there was the potential for further conflict. Coonan, for example, indicated that her agenda on the Steering Committee was to obtain better opportunities for girls doing commercial subjects¹, McArthur wanted to see social development skills included², and Maling wanted to preserve academic standards³. Similarly, all members had their own interests, skills and expertise. Their role of establishing what Smallacombe described as 'a coherent set of values' to put before the 'Curriculum Coordinating Committee', was fraught with difficulty. The coupling between members was loose, and members gave a high level of commitment in a supportive environment. Creativity was encouraged and the consultative process appeared to work well. Despite agenda difficulties people participated were pleased with the documentation achieved.

The Director General, Steinle was pleased with the process. It was perceived to be highly consultative, and it had created genuine staff-room discussion relating to 'purposes of schooling'. Steinle's comments indicate the advantages of the fluidity created.

I felt it was a good process. It was Smallacombe's model and Aston carried it out, and I thought it worked well. I was astonished at the amount of support we got from people and groups who could have been very critical of it. They took the parents and unions with them, and we did not receive any 'flak' at all about that. Smallacombe developed the process through his Masters Thesis, and it worked far better than the processes used in earlier versions of the purposes of schools.⁴

In summary, South Australia had adapted successfully to various changes in leadership, a changing social context, and a changed political spectrum. System

¹ Interview with Coonan, Josephine. 7/3/88. (notes page 2)

² Interview with Malcolm McArthur, 3/3/88. (notes page 1)

³ Interview with Aston, Robert. 9/3/88. (notes page 2)

⁴ Interview with Steinle, John R. 3/11/88. (notes page 6)

curriculum policy development had moved since the late 1960s from authoritarian approaches to directions which were more consultative, delegative, and democratic. The loose coupled arrangements of the early 1980s had been able to adapt to the dichotomy of recentralization (Commonwealth Education interest) as opposed to the growth of Regionalization (State Education interest). Formal and informal links co-existed in harmony, allowing for diversity, and encompassing a series of purposes.

The processes established still allowed curriculum policies of the period 1978-1981 to be as much a product of personalities as of any particular process. Philosophically, there was a common belief in the major purposes of education being associated with the building of a stable society where individuals had some control of their destiny. This assumption appears to have been adopted by the Steering Committee with little question.

The method of selecting Steering Committee members had ensured that a values conflict was unlikely between members. While the policy development appeared to be widely consultative, the demands of schools for greater prescription and for suggestions to achieve declared aims and objectives were largely ignored. The final policy represented a framework for school based curriculum development which was best described as 'progressive', with its focus on processes and not product.

The final document, 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' was expansive, non-directive for the most part, and egalitarian in principle, with an emphasis on personal and social development, and on maintaining the stance that the Education Department was a resource for policy, while the details of curriculum development were still very much the concern of the local school. While it was a symbolic document, it did provide a source for development of further propositions useful for re-shaping the curriculum, providing the Curriculum Directorate with a series of tasks for the succeeding years.

6.6. Publication

Director General Steinle, in the foreword to the 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' document provided a background statement and a brief overview of the final policy document.

Many of us who are concerned with education recognised that the 1971 'Purposes of Schools' statement needed to be reviewed, updated and expanded. 'Into the 80s' is the culmination of an extensive cooperative and consultative venture in educational policy development.

This document contains not only general statements of aims and purposes, but also guide-lines for the development of school programmes. It contains policy statements which clearly indicate the educational framework within which the government schools will operate in the coming years.

The intention is to provide an appropriate balance between central direction and local needs. The policy statements allow for schools to interpret and develop programmes which meet individual needs....¹

'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' document described for each school community the direction of the Education Department for the 1980s, suggesting that its structure *'would serve as a basis for educational policies and practices.'*² It promised *'a number of resource papers would be issued from time to time to assist schools'*³, and stated that the *'document was intended primarily for those who plan and administer educational programmes'*⁴

¹ Steinle, J.R, 1981, in foreword to 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes', S.A. Education Department, op. cit.

² *ibid*, p. 7.

³ *ibid*, p. 9.

⁴ *ibid*, p. 8.

The document acknowledged in its introduction¹ that 'respondents had emphasised that a curriculum framework was needed', but referred readers to another supposedly existing document 'Curriculum Authority and Responsibility in Government Schools' for that guidance. It was made clear that school developed curricula would require systems approval as outlined in the 'Curriculum Authority in Government Schools' document.²

B. Hyams³ had this to say about the general nature of the 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' document.

'Into the 80s', issued in 1981, provided a broad statement of policy - so broad in fact that it was criticized for according equal legitimacy to multiple and sometimes competing interpretations. It gives new prominence to the conservative and technocratic elements to be found in official reports wholesale retreat from considerations of social structure, emphasis on generalized 'community' as a source of consensus, scientism, the importance of experts and managers, and general injunctions to develop 'positive and favourable attitudes'.

The committee responsible for canvassing opinions on the purpose of schooling had been confronted with at least three significant points of view. The first was that schooling was primarily instrumental (that is - its main purpose is to prepare students for the work-force).

The second belief was that the school's main purpose was to foster the intellectual development of students. While other groups, organizations and institutions in society could perform other functions, the one thing the school was seen to do that others could not was to attempt the systematic development of the intellect.

¹ **ibid**, p. 7.

² **ibid**, p. 36.

³ **Hyams, Bernard. et al. 1988, Learning and Other Things: Sources of Social History of Education in South Australia., South Australian Government Printer, p. 426.**

The third view was that the school is concerned with the development of the whole person and that affective development, as well as intellectual development, was a function of the school. Inherent in this view was that good schooling could bring about an improved society.

In practice, most people wanted the school to perform all three of these functions - but there were major differences in opinion as to the priority of each.¹ In addition, political requirements associated with employment, productivity, standards, ethnicity and equity added to the difficulties of the policy writers.

The document 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' when finally launched in 1981, made compromises that would satisfy most beliefs, and took as a firm stand that the major purpose of schooling was to improve society.

The document was heralded as having both symbolic and real purposes. The real purpose was to provide a functional framework for curriculum development in schools. Its symbolic nature is more evident as only a handful of proposed resource documents were ever published to support the 'real' purposes, albeit drafts of many others exist in the South Australian Education Department archives. Further, the 'approval and responsibility' policy mentioned as existing, and designed to give structure leading to the approval process, was finally printed and distributed to schools four years later (1985). Hindsight thus confirms that the main purpose of the 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' document was symbolic.

'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' had developed from initiatives within the reorganised Education Department itself in response to the curriculum

¹ Speedy, Graeme. 1982, *The Limits of Curriculum; Reflections on Keeves and Into The 80s*", in *Pivot*, Publications Branch, South Australian Education Department, vol. 9, no. 5. pp. 24-25.

activities of the previous decade, and while in its construction it appeared relatively free of external political influences, the final product was influenced significantly by the political climate of the day. The document was needed as a manifesto to demonstrate that the Director General of Education in the South Australian Education Department was in control of curriculum, was maintaining standards, had clear objectives, and was managing curriculum matters.

With a new Liberal Government in power in South Australia at the beginning of the 1980s, there was a fear that the authority over curriculum (as designated in the Education Act, 1972) may be removed from the Director General of Education, and be given to the Minister of Education. This fear stemmed from speeches made by H. Allison, Minister of Education, while in opposition, for he promised the electorate that if he was given the Education portfolio he would improve standards through the reintroduction of public examinations and forms of standardised testing¹. Senior officers of the South Australian Education Department believed this approach to be regressive, restrictive, abhorrent, and needed to be resisted.²

The publication of 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' was seen as a way of reducing the need for Government to introduce standardised testing as a means of establishing what was happening in the area of curriculum in South Australian schools. The need for a policy statement to placate politicians had created a policy crisis which in 1981 truncated the consultative processes, and lead to an 'inspirational jump' in policy development.

The internal processes used to develop the curriculum policy statement in the reorganised Education Department was significantly different to the previous decade.

¹ as recorded in Hansard, Parliamentary records, August 1979.

² Interview with Steinle, John R. 3/11/88, and interview with O'Brien, M. 1/3/88.

While to an outside observer, the process appeared democratic, at least very consultative, closer investigation revealed that there were a few individuals who acted as gatekeepers and became dominant in the policy development process.

Thus in looking at the development of this policy and the processes involved, it was necessary to understand the internal structures of the Education Department and the role of the groups and key individuals involved. This chapter has looked at how the issue re-emerged as a priority on the policy agenda, the pathways and structures that determined policies, the internal and external policy stimuli, the effects of personalities, and the resultant policy and its short term effects.

What began as a comprehensive approach to policy development succeeded initially in bringing about incremental rather than radical change. The consultative and responsive processes were eventually truncated to present a document which would have political acceptance, leaving a promise that the structures for school based curriculum development and approval would follow. Internal agendas were overwhelmed by the need for external expedience.

Nevertheless, the social agenda of members of the Steering Committee remained as central to the final policy statement, with elements of good citizenship (social purposes for schooling) receiving considerable emphasis. Issues of political expediency, such as 'literacy and numeracy', and 'equal opportunities' were added as either 'priorities' for schools or 'expectations'. The document retained an egalitarian outlook through its statement of purposes, but failed in the same way as its predecessors to give schools a structure which would allow them to develop curriculum which would achieve these ends.

The 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' document was a public declaration of the curriculum activities of the South Australian Education Department. It

met political purposes by defining eight curriculum areas, establishing four priorities to ensure social and economic ends would be attained, and declared its values through the development of twelve expectations which reflected the social justice issues of debate in the late 1970s.

Chapter Seven: 1981-1985: Giving Teeth to 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes'

'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' (1981) described the egalitarian purposes of schooling, promising assistance to schools to achieve these purposes through the publication of resource papers, and through a further (supposedly existing) policy statement entitled 'Curriculum Authority and Responsibility'.

In-fact, it was not until 1985 that the South Australian Education Department published a policy statement for Government Schools entitled 'Into the 80s - Curriculum Authority and Responsibility'.¹ This small booklet was divided into three sections.

- The legal framework for curriculum authority and responsibility.
- The organisational and functional framework.
- The approval of the curriculum plan.

The first two sections of the booklet dealt with the legal responsibilities and roles of, and relationships between, the different sections of the South Australian Education Department with respect to the curriculum development process. The third section focussed on how objectives were to be met with regard to school responsibilities for curriculum, and how schools would be supported in the discharge of that responsibility, including the approval of their curriculum.

To complete the study of all the major policy documents of this period of research, this chapter briefly analyzes the forces associated with the development of the 1985 curriculum policy document, which clearly had its origins in a nine line statement within 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes'². It reads,

¹ **Into the 80s - Curriculum Authority and Responsibility: a Policy Statement for Government Schools, 1985, op. cit.**

² **Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes, 1981, op. cit.**

School curricula must be approved. Since the Director General of Education, under the terms of the Education Act, is responsible for the curriculum in schools, it is necessary for approval to be given by him, either directly or by delegation. Approval may be specific to particular schools or may be general for all Departmental schools. At the Departmental level approval to proceed with the development of materials may be required at several stages, according to the level of development. Details of these curriculum approval procedures are available in the Departmental document, 'Curriculum Authority and Responsibility' in Government Schools.¹

As 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' had been released publicly in June 1981, and issued to schools on the basis of one for every four teachers, there was some urgency for the 'Curriculum Authority and Responsibility' document to be written. After all, schools had been led to believe such a document was in existence, and they had already waited patiently since an expectancy was established in 1975 for a framework to guide them in the area of curriculum development. It was an urgent agenda item as a result of the processes that established 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes', rather than as an outcome of other factors.

The fact that the document took some four years to emerge as a printed statement contradicted the apparent urgency that could have been expected, and adds weight to the belief that the parent document was primarily symbolic in nature and developed for political purposes, rather than as a serious framework for schools to use in school based curriculum development. An analysis of the context within which the document was produced is useful in understanding the processes and final intent.

¹ Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes, 1981, op. cit, p. 36.

7.1. The Context of 'Curriculum Authority and Responsibility'- Internal and External Politics.

The South Australian context had changed dramatically in the late 1970s and early 1980s. The values espoused by the Karmel Committee in the Report of the Interim Committee of the Schools Commission in 1973 had been devolution of responsibility, equality, diversity, choice in school and community involvement. Writers such as Tannock (1975) predicted that there would be a major move towards genuine regionalization, with the decentralisation of all significant decision making power¹. Substantial movement in these directions did occur in South Australia, especially for curriculum and decisions relating to it; at least until 1981.

Beyond 1981 came a period of recentralization of some functions such as the development of curriculum materials and content within eight areas of study defined in 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes'. At the same time there was decentralisation of curriculum authority to Areas for the implementation of curriculum, school based curriculum development support, and curriculum approval.

Cusack (1981),² discusses structural changes in the South Australian Education Department emerging in the early 1980s and continuing at the time the 'Curriculum Authority and Responsibility' document was being developed. He notes that while regionalization had been a feature of the late 1970s, the situation of growth had changed to one of decline, particularly decline in enrolments, decline in the finances available in real terms for education, and a decline of public confidence in schooling as

¹ Tannock, P, 1975, Education and the Community. The Movement Away from Formal Education, in *Unicorn*, Australian College of Education, no. 1, pp. 41-51.

² Cusack, John, 1981, Processes of Decision Making in the Government Sector of South Australia, in *Politics in Education*, The Australian College of Education.

unemployment within South Australia rose above the national average of nearly nine percent.¹

Regionalization during the late 1970s had been costly, and while seen to be operationally desirable, it needed to be constrained. There was considerable discussion between the Senior Executive and the Minister of Education as to whether less and more equitable regions would allow greater control of a system that continued to want to expand at a time when economic restraint was required by government. Thus the ten Regions were re-constituted to form five Areas (three metropolitan and two country) and many central functions were relocated to these Areas.

Irrespective of the direction towards centralization or decentralization, levels of decision making and decision making processes became important in the early 1980s. Conflict over the governance and control of curriculum had potential to become a dominant issue in the South Australian Education Department.

The question of control became central to the discussions of the 'Curriculum Authority and Responsibility' Committee, who failed to agree on the matter, causing inordinate delays in the policy development. The tendency towards greater control on the one hand and to less control on the other led to some internal conflict.

While the structure and direction of 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' described in the previous chapter generally provided a loosely coupled model of curriculum development akin to models such as Wieck's, the same loose coupling presented a problem to bureaucratic structures, where there was seen a need for greater curriculum control. This need had been expressed in the brief statement that 'all

¹ Labour Force Status and Educational Attainment, Australia, 1981, Australian Bureau of Statistics, Catalogue No 6240.0.

curriculum must be approved' added to the 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' document just prior to publication.

In January 1982, the final report of the Committee of Enquiry into Education in South Australia was finally released¹, and received by the Tonkin Liberal Government. As the Tonkin Government lost the right to govern to the Bannon Labor Government in November the same year, many of its recommendations were never implemented, for the Labor Government distanced itself from ideas taken on board by the opposition. Nevertheless, the report helped set the agenda for educational debate.

The Report could not be totally ignored, particularly as it addressed some of the financial problems emerging at the end of the 1970s. The Bean enquiry of 1945 had emphasised the pre-eminence of educational values, and directed attention to reconstruction following the second world war. A long financial boom had followed, and the Karmel enquiry had made its report at the peak of the boom (1971), where society confidently believed that massive funds could be allocated to Education, based on policies inspired by sociological insights. While Bean attacked the system of instruction, Karmel was more concerned about overthrowing the administrative system, and meeting social objectives.

Then the financial boom burst, and the Keeves enquiry, commissioned in June 1980, was instructed to recommend a rationalisation of education resources, and their organisation, bearing in mind the problems of youth unemployment and the need for an evaluation of schools.²

¹ Keeves, J.P. Chairman, 1982, *op. cit.*

² Power, Colin, ed, 1982, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

The provision of schooling was costly, and with the down-turn in the South Australian economy, greater efficiency and effectiveness was expected from the Education Department, who spent one third of the total state budget in 1981. With the high costs associated with curriculum changes, the Liberal Government moved quickly towards programme performance budgeting, and expected all expenditure on curriculum to be tightly controlled.

The Keeves Report is critical of school based curriculum.

unfortunately, in proposing change at this time, it will be seen by some as a denial of the memorandum of August 1970 that has become enshrined in an unexpected way as a statement of the rights of the teaching service in South Australia.¹

This should have hardly been too unexpected, for the memorandum had been endorsed by the Karmel Report as one key to identifying the 'professional' authority which teachers should claim in breaking from the hierarchical, centralized and authoritarian traditions of the 1960s. It produced a strongly held view that freedom from centralized directions was a function of the teacher's professional authority. On the other hand, Keeves also refers to the strongly 'voiced' opinion of teachers that school based curriculum was not working, and that they needed more centralized curriculum planning and guiding. The Keeves report states, *'teachers are, in general, conservative and are reluctant to change from what they have become accustomed to. Teachers do not learn easily new approaches and skills'.²*

¹ *ibid*, vol. 2, section 3.4.

² *ibid*, vol. 2, section 4.6.

The Aston and Wiseman surveys conducted in South Australian schools during 1978 also note that a significant number of teachers desired prescribed curriculum, or at least a framework from which to operate.¹

The Keeves enquiry went on to take the functional emphasis to develop an argument for reducing teacher autonomy so that schools might respond more efficiently to the economic needs of a technological society.²

Regardless of the change of Government late in 1982, the rhetoric of Keeves signalled an economic and political need to take greater control of the school curriculum, and added weight to arguments that school based curriculum should be approved. While teachers valued their autonomy, they were reluctant to accept the responsibilities for curriculum that went with that autonomy. Many lacked the skills in curriculum development, and time to develop policy statements.

In the changing economic context described, the Labor Government, and its Education Minister, Arnold, were also anxious that the Curriculum was being adequately monitored and controlled. There was some residual fear, emanating out of the need for a clear curriculum policy, expressed by senior officers within the South Australian Education Department³, that the Minister might assume control of curriculum, bringing South Australia into line with all other Australian States.

¹ Aston, R, 1978, Report to the Director of Curriculum, op. cit, p. 2.

² Keeves, J.P. Chairman, 1982, op. cit, pp. 24 - 36.

³ The author was acting as a Regional Director of Education at this time, and was a participant observer of these concerns.

7.2. *The Process.*

Within the context described in the preceding section, the actual process of developing the document depended heavily on a small number of actors.

The principal mover and key author of 'Curriculum Authority and Responsibility' development was Pallant, who, at a Curriculum Directorate Management meeting in 1981¹, indicated that he felt that urgent steps had to be taken to follow up the 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' requirement. He persuaded the Director of Curriculum, O'Brien, to set up a 'working party' to undertake the task of developing the document. Tony McGuire, the most recently appointed Superintendent, was given the task of convening the group, which consisted of a Superintendent of Curriculum (D. Pallant), a Regional representative (R. Arnold), and school representatives (R. Rowell and P. Shepherd). Of this group, Pallant was the only officer with any close affiliation with the preceding 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' document. J. Travers, a Principal who had been seconded to the directorate as a curriculum adviser became the Executive Officer. He comments as follows,

*Don Pallant was very much the ideas person, and he became the dominant personality, even though Tony McGuire was directly responsible for the production of the document. I believe the task was given to Tony on the basis of sharing out the various responsibilities of the Curriculum Directorate equitably.*²

The status of the task appeared to be downgraded from one performed by Assistant Directors and Directors, to one now performed by a Superintendent.

¹ Minutes of the Curriculum Management team Curriculum Directorate , July 1981, South Australian Education Department Archives.

² Interview with Travers, John. Seconded Principal, and Adviser in Curriculum Development, 7th March 1988.

O'Brien, when asked about the apparent low priority given to what appeared to be an urgent matter, suggested that many centrally based officers in the Studies Directorate believed that the development of Curriculum should be a central responsibility, and had little heart for developing any framework of assistance to school based curriculum developments.¹

As the key personnel in establishing 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' were not involved, and as a writing 'brief' did not exist for the supposedly 'written' document, some direction was sought by the project leader from the Director General of Education. McGuire and O'Brien (Director of Curriculum) met with the Director General of Education², and sought his endorsement of the committee approach to develop the 'Curriculum Authority and Responsibility' document, and to establish some indication of the level of prescription required. Endorsement was given, and a broad framework recommended that included a statement as to how the legal responsibilities of the Director General of Education were to be met. The final document had to meet a political need, and demonstrate to government that there were adequate controls of school based curriculum activity.

McGuire describes the processes used by the committee to establish the document.

I came to the 'Curriculum Authority and Responsibility' task with very few beliefs or assumptions, as I had not been involved with 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes'. Don Pallant had very clearly in his mind what he wanted and I presumed what he thought the 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' writers wanted. It appeared to me that to keep good faith with the printed word in 'Our Schools and Their Purposes', my group had to hurry to get the document out - again the reality proved very different.

¹ Interview with O'Brien, Maurice, Director of Curriculum, 1/3/88.

² Meeting, Wednesday the 19th of August 1981.

My views were modified in several ways in the process. It was extremely difficult to get a consensus of opinion on what was to be approved and how far that approval should go. Rex Arnold maintained that the introduction of the process of approval had to be done very carefully (a) to avoid getting Principals and teachers off side, and (b) in terms of the work load of those involved in the approval processes. The school representatives were rather luke-warm about the process (and were right in hindsight) and at a very early stage raised the issue of what would be approved, by whom, and to what depth. Would it extend to the classroom practice - or would it be a rubber stamp to documentation?

The decision was made that the approval process would apply to curriculum materials and that further approvals of what happened in the classrooms was really the task of the school Principal.¹

Pallant argued that the system had a responsibility to approve what was to be taught (the curriculum plan) and the Principal was responsible for the delivery of curriculum within the school. This had been made clear in the 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum' of 1970.

Hence much attention was given by the group to the legal side, who was responsible to whom, who could delegate, how would that delegation operate, and how approval would fit in with the Jones' 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum'.²

It was clear from committee debate³ that the legal and organizational framework had to be addressed, and the first two parts of the final document reflect this.

The other major issue for debate was the 'curriculum plan' of a school. It had to be clear what a curriculum plan was, and considerable energy was spent on this.

¹ Interview with McGuire, A. Superintendent of Curriculum, 7/3/88.

² Interview with Travers, John. Adviser in Curriculum Development, 7/3/88.

³ South Australian Education Department archives curriculum records and minutes of 1981/82/83.

Beliefs of the committee members changed, or rather crystallized (perhaps materialized?) during the process itself. Really not much thought had gone into the type of document that was expected.

Thinking was modified by the real need for the Director General of Education to be able to say that schools were following approved curriculum, the realities of doing this, and the processes involved to get such a task done.¹

The pragmatic considerations seemed to cause inordinate delays in producing the blueprint required by schools, and even when the committee had agreed on a framework for the policy statement, agreed on 'who' should undertake curriculum approval, and agreed on 'what' should be approved, a considerable amount of time was devoted to debate on 'how' and 'how often' approval was required. Arnold said,

At one stage the committee spend considerable time in debate on how frequently the review should take place. Some followed the Pallant view of every five years, so that at least each school would be checked as to what documents it was using as one group of students passed through it. This notion proved to be quite a hurdle. The Secondary committee members could not accept a set period and indeed contrary views held up the progress of this document some time. In the final document, no set time appears.²

Arnold and Pallant appeared to disagree on a number of matters, with McGuire adopting a flexible stance between their two points of view. Travers described the situation as follows.

While Rex Arnold admired the Pallant brilliance and clarity with words, he remained uncomfortable with the tone of the document. There was continual debate over whether it was the curriculum documentation or the curriculum practice that was being approved. My feeling was the real curriculum was that which was being delivered to children - we couldn't approve that because it was dynamic and depended on individual teachers. Hence we eventually had to settle on the 'written curriculum' for approval.

¹ Interview with McGuire, Tony. Superintendent of Curriculum, 7/3/88.

² Interview with Arnold, Rex. Superintendent of Curriculum, 8/3/88.

Don Pallant contended that if you interpreted the Act literally, the only part of the curriculum the Director General of Education is responsible for is the written bit - the delivery is the Principal's responsibility.

The problem was, that it was fine to approve the written curriculum, but the application of it might be dreadful. Thus the exercise was seen by many as a non-sense exercise anyway. I see it a bit like a drivers licence. No-one pretends that to have a drivers licence means you are a good driver, yet everyone would contend that it is a good thing that people need to be tested and hold a licence.¹

The committee responsible for 'Curriculum Authority and Responsibility' eventually developed four purposes for their activities.

- to set up approval processes to fulfil the Director General of Education's responsibilities under the Act
- to show why school developed curriculum must be approved (the legal framework)
- to clarify the organizational framework
- and to say 'how' all this was to occur.

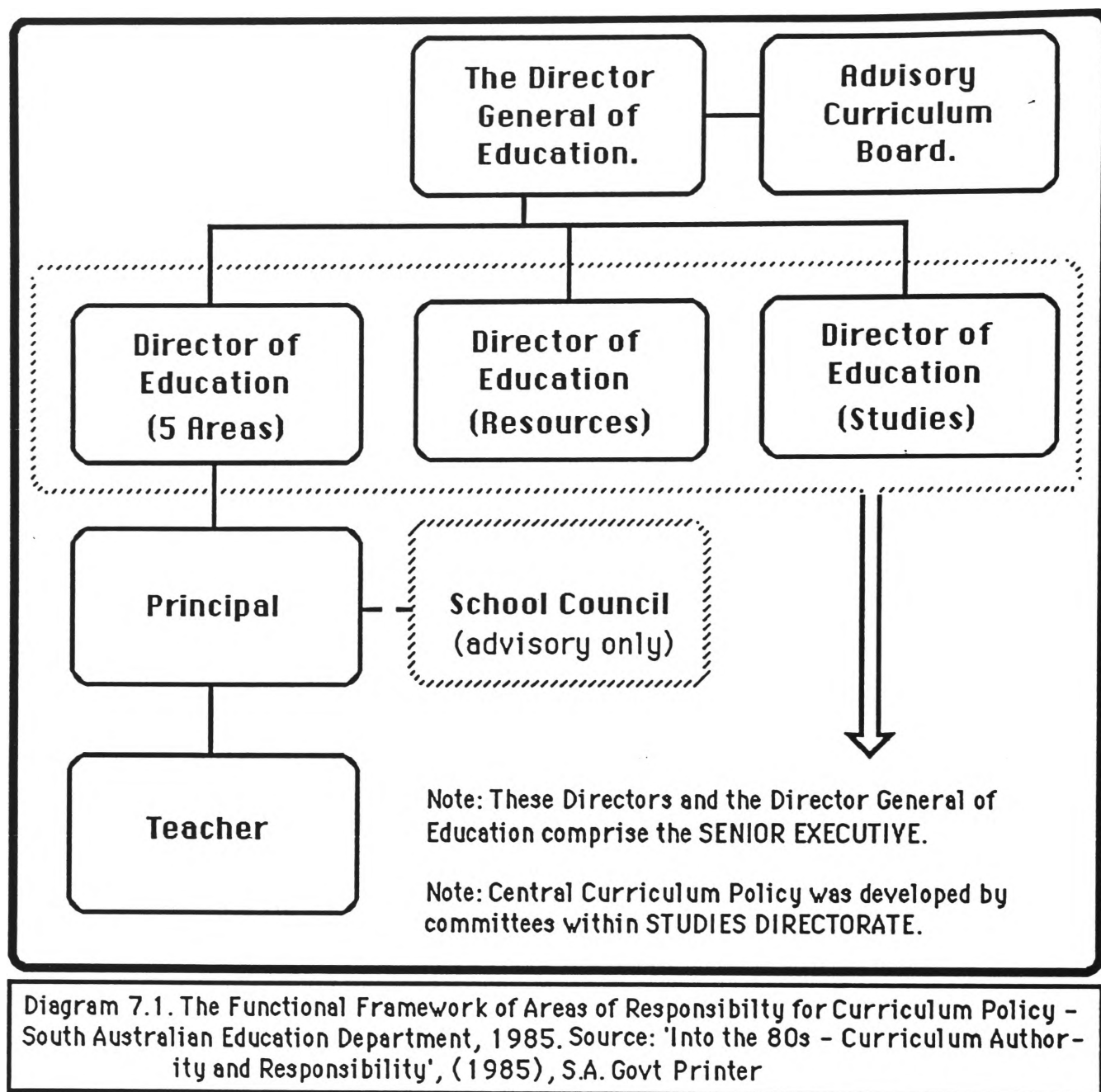
The 'how' part, eagerly awaited by schools, proved the most difficult and was never fully developed. Parts one and two (apart from the diagram of organizational aspects which had to be altered as the system reorganised once more) were fairly readily accepted.

¹ Interview with Travers, John. Seconded Principal, and Adviser in Curriculum Development, 7/3/88

The 'how' section became problematic as a result of philosophical differences of committee members already described, and the production of the document became delayed. As the Education Department was undergoing a further structural reorganisation, the committee were able to explain their lack of productivity as 'an inability to describe the organisational framework until the restructure was completed'.¹ At least, this was the reason communicated verbally by Directorate members in response to numerous school enquiries.

As the Director General Steinle, put in place a further reorganisation to meet the constraints of declining enrolments, difficult economic circumstances, and a political requirement to move towards programme performance budgeting, the policy approval process also changed. Ideas were still developed in the Directorates, but the number of groups able to influence outcomes beyond the directorates were reduced considerably. To demonstrate this, the functional framework showing the operations of the S.A. Education Department in 1985 when reorganisation was close to complete is recorded as diagram 7.1.. It should be compared with the more complex chart for the period 1978 - 1981 shown as diagram 6.1. in chapter six.

¹ Memorandum to Director General of Education from the Director of Curriculum, September 1983. SA Education Department Archives.



Matters for policy approval went before an executive of Directors. This group was chaired by the Director General of Education. This was the only gate-keeping group in the reorganised Department, but while it was being established, a number of policy matters were delayed, as processes were unclear. Certainly, a draft document produced in August 1982 remained 'in limbo' for over eight months without any apparent action.¹

The production stage of the 'Into the 80s - Curriculum Authority and Responsibility' did not go smoothly. Arnold maintained energy for the project, even

¹ Minutes of the Curriculum Management team Curriculum Directorate, 1982/1983, South Australian Education Department Archives,

though the convener, McGuire, lost enthusiasm as the committee found it difficult to agree on what constituted a school curriculum plan requiring approval, and drafts being developed remained with the Deputy Director General of Schools for inordinate periods of time. McGuire comments himself, *'I had lost interest at this stage, and that may have been partly responsible for the long delays.'*¹

O'Brien suggests² that McGuire lost interest when any draft produced seemed to be blocked by the Deputy Director General of Schools, who was constantly reminded by Regional Directors of the difficulties curriculum approval would present to the Principal Education Officers in the field. In the meanwhile, Arnold, a Principal Education Officer, had a strong personal commitment to the task, and undertook a number of trials of a draft document in schools in his district.

The major issues that seemed to remain unresolved at a committee level were

- * how often should curriculum be approved?
- * should approval go beyond documentation?
- * how would the approval be done?
- * how frequently should it occur?
- * what role should the Principal, Principal Education Officer, and the Director of Curriculum play?

Some of these issues never really resolved to everyone's satisfaction, and the trials of the 'Curriculum Authority and Responsibility' drafts conducted by R. Arnold failed to provide any real solutions. J. Travers, executive officer for the project, commented,

¹ Interview with McGuire, Tony. Superintendent of Curriculum, 7/3/88.

² Interview with O'Brien, Maurice. Director of Curriculum, 1/3/88.

Initially it took about 12 months to get the first drafts to the stage we (Pallant and I) were happy with. Rex Arnold had uncertainties about it, and this caused some of the delays. He clashed with the rest of the group. He spent considerable time with me. He was worried about the heavy handedness of the document, and wanted to soften it to be more human in the way it dealt with schools.

He also felt that the document should be trialled, and actually undertook the curriculum approval process in some high schools. He wrote up some of the problems, and we worked together on revisions. This approach did not come through Tony McGuire - nor was it discussed by any committee.¹

Schools became more and more impatient at the extensive delays in the publication of support papers for the 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' document. Pressure from the Principal Education Officers brought about a release of a draft 'Curriculum Authority and Responsibility' in 1983. This proved to be counter productive as many schools erroneously adopted it as final policy, thus compounding the committees difficulties in preparing an acceptable end product.

Further production delays occurred, as the evolving reorganization of the Education Department meant that lines of responsibility planned for parts one and two of the document changed, and would have to be redrafted. It also meant changes to the decision making processes (including policy approval) as many central functions were to be delegated to new combinations of Regions now to be called Areas. As the reorganization plan for the Education Department was evolutionary rather than totally pre-planned, it was 1985 before a final document could be produced that contained a flow chart of the new organisation.

McGuire described some of the activities delaying the final development of the document as follows,

¹ Interview with Travers, John Seconded Principal, and Adviser in Curriculum Development, 7/3/88

Another major stumbling block in the preparation of the document was in developing the diagram that outlined the roles of various people in the curriculum process (that is, Education Department officers). Clearly the Director General of Education had delegated his responsibility to the Director of Curriculum, but in between these two positions was the position 'Deputy Director General of Education (schools)', who accepted responsibility for coordinating Directors in the Regions who in turn would have to ensure 'Curriculum Authority and Responsibility' was properly administered.

In the end the traumas of this difficulty ended by handing over the document to the Deputy Director General of Education (Schools) to sort out. This remained with him for a considerable period of time (partly due to consultations with Regional directors - partly due to energy being channelled into the subsequent Departmental reorganization?) before it was eventually published in 1985. Jim Giles consulted with Principals and Directors before rewriting the document in its final form. This, when all said and done, did not vary much from the original Pallant draft.¹

McGuire, in reflecting on the final document had this to say.

In hindsight, the major weaknesses in the document was it failed to adequately spell out what was expected from schools, and how the curriculum plan and school documents would be approved. Most people could accept the need for approval. How it was done was not properly set out, the inservice for Principal Education Officers was abysmal, and the whole exercise suffered from a most unfortunate delay while people in the field waited expectantly for advice and help. The 'how' needs to be reviewed - I believe it is an impossible task in light of what has happened organizationally - indeed, the Education Department never did have the resources to undertake the expectancies of 'Curriculum Authority and Responsibility' properly.²

Giles, Deputy Director General of Education (Schools), took the unfinished work of the committee, eventually rewrote it, and submitted it for approval to the Senior

¹ Interview with McGuire, Tony. Superintendent of Curriculum, 7/3/88.

² *ibid.*

Executive. Minutes of the 'Senior Executive Meetings'¹ indicate that the document was discussed and approved at the one meeting. Debate is not recorded, even though the document production had encountered considerable difficulties in the developmental stages.

There was very little evident commitment from senior officers of the Education Department to the final document. Section three, the approval of the curriculum plan, long awaited and important to schools developing their own curriculum, proved impractical, for it failed to provide a workable structure. Further, the management of the approval process was given to the five newly formed Areas, but the task itself, as described by the policy document², demanded a large personnel commitment, and was clearly beyond the capacity of the Areas to manage. Senior officers were reluctant to accept responsibility for the policy.

Jim Giles, when asked who was responsible for the document, responded in a way that minimized his part. *'Curriculum Authority and Responsibility was a Pallant invention - and a bit of a bummer! It didn't match the quality of the mother document.'*³

In summary, while the policy document was desired by schools as an instrument to guide curriculum planning and development, when it eventually emerged, it proved more symbolic than practical, and it was left to the Principal Education Officers⁴ to be resourceful in assisting schools with processes for school based curriculum developments.

Like preceding documents such as 'The Purposes of Schools' and 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes', the curriculum policy committee processes were

¹ South Australian Education Department Archives, Senior Executive minutes Nov 1984.

² 'Into the 80s - Curriculum Authority and Responsibility, 198 , op. cit, p. 12.

³ Interview with Giles, Jim. Deputy Director General of Schools, October 1987.

⁴ 'Principal Education Officers' were called 'Superintendents of Schools' following the reorganisation of the Education Department between 1981 - 1985

eventually truncated. When it became important to meet political expectations such as letting it be seen that the Director General was meeting his legislated responsibilities, a single author redeveloped the committee ideas to form a final policy statement.

7.3. Reflections and Observations

B. George, member of the original steering committee for the 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' document summarized the feeling amongst Principals and senior officers about the 'Into the 80s - Curriculum Authority and Responsibility' document and associated resource papers that followed 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' with the following comments.

I was rather critical that the supplementary papers were not prepared before the launch of the 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' document. Also, the approach did not reflect the same care or concern for quality as went into the original document. There was a direct contrast, with bundles of documents arriving at schools with no explanations as to how they were to be used.

There did not seem to be any real controls of what happened after the launch of 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes'. Things seemed to be farmed out to individuals or groups, and came out in a haphazard fashion. Original priorities were apparently forgotten, and some support documents were written but never printed. The original plans appeared to be lost, and no-one seemed to care.¹

Resource documents designed to support the 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' were seen as poor quality, and lacking any coordinated release. When 'Into the 80s - Curriculum Authority and Responsibility' curriculum policy document eventually arrived in schools, it failed in its attempts to make clear the elements of a curriculum plan that were needed for formal curriculum approval. It did, however, provide a very clear picture of the legal framework, and the organizational and functional framework.

¹ Interview with George, Brenton, Principal of Campbelltown High School. 6/3/88.

Its final tone demonstrated a retreat from the 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum' of the 1970s, in that schools were obliged to use Departmentally developed curriculum materials, or subject themselves to the process of curriculum approval. In practise, there were insufficient Superintendents of Schools to undertake the task, and insufficient indication that the Education Department was serious about the issue.

The elements or framework for a school curriculum plan, eagerly awaited by Principals since 1975, were described in less than twenty lines on page twelve of 'Into the 80s - Curriculum Authority and Responsibility', and failed to give the detailed guidance anticipated.

Schools had little heart for the 'Into the 80s - Curriculum Authority and Responsibility' document, which was seen as an unnecessary bureaucratic intervention to test their paper work and not their practices. Superintendents of Schools, many of whom were 'acting' as a result of delays associated with the further reorganization of the Education Department, often gave higher priority to other role responsibilities where they felt there was a greater chance of having an effect on the quality of education. Thus the impact of the document was disappointing, with some schools choosing to ignore it completely.

The processes involved in the development of the document mitigated against its likely success. It began with an unrealistic time constraint, for the unwritten document had been heralded as existing, by the publication 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes'. The task was given to an officer who had no previous involvement in the earlier policy development. The brief lacked any framework or direction apart from the nine line proclamation that began this chapter.

There were a number of issues which remained largely unresolved. Even the basic question, 'why was the document needed?' caused considerable debate in the committee established to develop the policy. The authors were unsure on this score. Pallant, however, could see the political purposes for the document, and the opportunity for Principal Education Officers (Superintendents) to regain some of the influence that was eroded by the 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum'.

The question of curriculum definition and approval was also unresolved. What needed approval? How often should curriculum be approved? Who would do it? How frequently and for what purpose would they do it? Who would own the outcomes? What if curriculum was not approved? These and other questions were not adequately answered by the document or by committee members involved in the processes of developing it.

Giles, who wrote the final 'Into the 80s - Curriculum Authority and Responsibility' document, chose to write it as a plan of what ought to be (policy prescription) and devoted little attention to whether or not the plan could be achieved in practice. This was unacceptable to Arnold, a working party member, who believed that the test of a good policy was whether or not it could be implemented. It was seen that the framework should be realistic and achievable, rather than symbolic or an ideal to aim at. As a person in the field who would have to make the policy operational, Arnold expressed his concerns to O'Brien, Pallant, and Giles, but did not succeed in changing the emphasis.

As the reorganisation of the South Australian Education Department was proceeding slowly the policy processes remained confused. Some of the old structures still remained, and curriculum policy development in 1983 neither followed the curriculum policy framework shown in diagram 6.1. or 7.1. Confusion allowed the draft document to sit idle for a considerable period of time.

Giles experienced difficulties in making the document a useful framework for schools, and sought advice from both the Policy Committee¹ of the Education Department and the Regional Directors, who were concerned as to its application in implementation. The responses again raised the unresolved issues dealt with by the 'Into the 80s - Curriculum Authority and Responsibility' committee, and the draft document sat idle for some time. Pressures coming from field officers, Regional Directors, and ultimately the Director General of Education, led Giles to rewrite the document for publication.

The final document was approved by the newly formed Executive of the reorganised Education Department, and not the old Policy Committee existing at the time of approval of 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes'. Details of discussions at that Executive meeting are not recorded in the minutes.

Thus, the development of the 'Curriculum Authority and Responsibility' document had much in common with the development of 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes', although it did not go through an elaborate consultative process. Incremental processes of partisan mutual adjustment, however protracted and unsuccessful, were ultimately truncated as a result of crisis. This was the need to produce at least a declaration of policy that added weight to the broad policy statement 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes'.

Like its 'parent', the document did not use any particular theoretical framework. The committee developed its own by responding to the issues as its members perceived them. In this sense its structure was consistent with the document it was meant to amplify.

¹ refer diagram 6.1.

Like its predecessor, the ultimate document depended very much on the key personnel who produced it, and the values they held. Pallant, the principal author of the drafts, wanted prescriptive processes and a structure for schools to work within, and by and large the text he wrote remained central to the final document.

The final word on this document is summarized by the Director of Curriculum, O'Brien,

"Curriculum Authority and Responsibility" spelt the end of 'Freedom and Authority' as it was being interpreted in many schools - exactly as I meant it to do! The responsibility part of the document implied a question of for what and to whom. The Director General of Education is responsible for the Curriculum. The document spells out that authority!'

The thinking associated with policy processes had been modified by the real need for the Director General of Education to be able to say that schools were following approved curriculum. There needed to be a statement outlining how the system would do this, and a process to get such a task done. Political needs had been addressed, and in doing so schools were to remain disappointed, for they were no closer to having a clear and detailed framework or means to address the purposes of schools in their own setting.

7.4. Links to Curriculum Policy Theory.

Pusey (1980), in observing key educational issues at this time, believed the dichotomy between freedom and control inevitable. He based his beliefs on three premises.

- education was central to the social, political, and economic life of a society,
- education systems in developed western societies were resistant to control,

¹ Interview with Maurice O'Brien, Director of Curriculum, 1st March 1988.

- accelerating social change generated new demands on education systems.¹

'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' provided considerable scope for control at the classroom level, as its parameters were extremely broad, allowing teachers to justify a very wide range of curriculum content. The 'eleventh hour' inclusion of the statement requiring 'approval to the curriculum plan' as outlined in the 'Curriculum Authority and Responsibility' document, gave some control to the education system management. What that control should be proved problematic.

The education system utilised approximately one third of the State Budget in 1981. To allow curriculum change to move unchecked could well increase costs to the system at a time when restraint was desired. It was this reason as much as any other that hastened the final emergence of the 'Curriculum Authority and Responsibility' document. It was to demonstrate to Government, that curriculum was under control, and that procedures existed to keep it that way. Like its parent document, it was symbolic, and represented a movement away from the progressive beliefs of the 1970s and demonstrated idealist aims in keeping with the political context of the time. While largely impractical in terms of implementation, it gave the appearance of addressing concerns about standards and productivity.

Like 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes', it was the product of a tradition bound, slow sequence of incremental changes with sudden 'inspirational jump' illustrated by the crisis of curriculum control. School curriculum had to be approved. Since the Director General of education, under the terms of the Education Act (section 82, 1972), was responsible for the curriculum in schools, it was necessary for approval to be given by him, either directly or by delegation. The 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and

¹ Pusey, M, 1980 , *The Key Issues for Education Policy for the 1980s*, mimeographed, and reported by Cusack, John, 1981, *Processes of Decision Making in the Government Sector of South Australia*, in *Politics in Education* - The Australian College of Education, p. 203.

'Their Purposes' (1981) had made this clear, but by 1985 the Director General of Education was still embarrassed by the lack of a policy instrument for this to occur. While school based materials were being implemented without checks, costly centrally produced curriculum materials did not have to be used in schools.

The patience of Director General Steinle, eventually ran out, and 'Into the 80s - Curriculum Authority and Responsibility' was produced, despite the fact many issues remained unresolved. In this way the document is consistent with the theory of incremental changes followed by a crisis related inspirational jump, discussed by Elboim-Dror (1970) as a characteristic of education policy formation at a systems level.¹

The conditions of decline, described by Boyd (1983)² as influencing policy processes and content, were all present at the time 'Into the 80s - Curriculum Authority and Responsibility' was developed. That is, in South Australia there were declining enrolments, declining economic-budgetary circumstances, and a declining public confidence in schooling. There was also a suspicion emanating from the 'standards' debate that the Minister of Education may choose to assume curriculum control and that this would result in educationally unsound practises.

As Boyd predicted, organisational restructure would follow, and there would be greater interest in the effectiveness of schooling with greater public attention on the outcomes of schooling, rather than inputs being the answer to overcoming equity issues, as was seen to be the case during the 1970s. The 'Into the 80s - Curriculum Authority and Responsibility' document, was a systems response. Boyd observed that professional reformers assumed that official adoptions of policy statements and policy positions was

¹ Elboim - Dror, R, 1970, *op. cit.*, pp. 231 - 253.

² Boyd, William L, 1983, *op. cit.*

tantamount to their implementation, and as such¹, 'Into the 80s - Curriculum Authority and Responsibility' met a real political need.

As 'Into the 80s - Curriculum Authority and Responsibility' was an amplification of the approval statement contained in 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes', policy development choices could be anticipated that Lindblom² would either describe as as 'synoptic', or alternatively 'disjointed incrementalism'. The document best reflects the latter, and the steps taken match Lindblom's theory of 'muddling through'.

Difficulties in achieving policy outcomes were exacerbated by the differing value systems of key actors on the policy committee. Pallant³ was clear that school based curriculum development needed to be constrained, whereas Arnold⁴ wanted a framework to assist schools improve their curriculum development. March⁵ has pointed out that explicating value judgements often lead to displaced goals, with actors agreeing on a tangible outcome. With 'Into the 80s - Curriculum Authority and Responsibility', no such agreement was arrived at. Rather, documentation eventually favoured political expediency, and utilised the dialogue prepared by Pallant, ignoring to a large degree the problems frequently articulated by Arnold. The ideal characteristics outlined by March, namely the pre-existence of purpose, necessity of consistency, and primacy of rationality were not present, and the committees inability to achieve confirms the ideas presented by March for guiding choice in policy development.

¹ Boyd, W.L, 1983, *op. cit*, pp. 16 -17.

² Lindblom. C.E, & Braybrooke, D, 1963, *op. cit*, p. 78.

³ Don Pallant, Superintendent of Curriculum, was responsible for writing the 'Into the 80s - Curriculum Authority and Responsibility' document drafts.

⁴ Rex Arnold, Principal Education Officer and member of the working party for 'Into the 80s - Curriculum Authority and Responsibility', sought a document of practical utility at a school level.

⁵ March, J.G. 1972, *op. cit*, pp. 413 - 429.

Hogwood and Gunn's (1984)¹ decision tree for issue filtration confirms that the issue of 'curriculum approval' was unsuitable for analysis, as the policy was highly politicised and the matter was urgent, assuming that the parent document was pragmatic rather than symbolic. As such the committee approach was probably appropriate, though relatively unsuccessful.

In summary, the motivation and pace for producing 'Into the 80s - Curriculum Authority and Responsibility' was exceedingly low, and the processes were protracted. The outcome was a symbolic document, which failed at the implementation stage. This failure will ensure the issue a place on a future policy agenda, as schools had placed hope in the document as a framework for school based curriculum planning and approval.

¹ Hogwood, B.W. & Gunn, L.A, 1984, *op. cit*, pp. 104 -106.

Chapter Eight:

The Role of the South Australian Institute of Teachers and the South Australian Parents Associations on State Wide Curriculum Policies.

In searching the literature on issues and variables that influenced curriculum policies, a number of groups emerged that had impacted on curriculum activity internationally. Amongst these were teacher organisations, and parent groups.

....it is abundantly clear that unions have the necessary political muscle to influence how and what curriculum will be implemented in schools ...¹

'Bottom up' rather than 'top down' leadership and decision making approaches appear more likely to result in successful curriculum implementation many observers argue that school improvement comes from substantial parent involvement²

As the literature considers these groups as stakeholders, this study would be incomplete if their contribution was unexamined. Unions and parent organisations were likely to influence or be influenced by contextual issues, which themselves were subjected to a variety of influences³. As such unions and parents contribution are seen as a malleable variables, and worthy of closer consideration as part of this study.

Research findings revealed that these two groups had negligible influence on the system wide curriculum policies developed in South Australia during the period from 1968 - 1985. The findings about the two groups have therefore been removed from the

¹ Boyd, W.L. 1978, op. cit, p. 616.

² Weick, K. 1976, op. cit, p. 12.

³ Barcan, Alan R. 1980, A History of Australian Education, OUP, Oxford, pp. 399 -410.

preceding chapters, and presented in this chapter, to give an understanding as to why these groups were not formally involved in the policy development processes during the period of this study.

8.1. *Union Involvement.*

The South Australian Institute of Teachers is the only teacher organization in South Australia, and it has always claimed to have both an industrial and professional role. In this study of 'forces bringing about curriculum policies in South Australia', it was appropriate to establish what matters relating to curriculum were central to the South Australian Institute of Teachers (SAIT) agenda, and whether the union had been influential in systems curriculum policy development as had their counterparts in both Victoria and New South Wales.¹

One of the characteristics of the operational methods of the Education Department and the Institute of Teachers in South Australia had been that of maintaining open channels of communication, and as an outcome industrial action in the way of strikes and working to rule had been almost entirely avoided in South Australia.

The annual Summit Conference², already described in some detail in the chapter four, was one method of bringing the Institute officers, Education Department personnel, and the Minister of Education together on a regular basis to share perspectives. South

¹ Broadbent, R F. ed, 1982, *Education Policy Making in Australia*, The Australian College of Education, Carlton, Victoria, and

Jones, A.W. 1980, *Decentralization in the Central State*, op cit, pp. 11 - 27.

² See Chapter 4, 3.2. The Summit Conference was introduced in 1968 to bring together the Minister of Education, members of SAIT, and members of the SA Education Department, to discuss matters that needed to be dealt with in the policy arena. Discussions were informal, annual, and held over a live-in weekend - agendas were negotiated at the conference, and minutes were not kept, allowing 'value free discussion'.

Australian Institute of Teachers officers were also encouraged to talk regularly with Directors with regard to problems or future directions. Directors met on an ad hoc basis with members of the South Australian Institute of Teachers executive as policy was developed, particularly on issues that changed the personal circumstances of teachers.

The nature of consultation varied. In some instances joint work parties were established, resulting in mutually acceptable solutions. In others, a policy was developed unilaterally but with full consultation occurring before any decision was made to implement it.

Often joint participatory models were employed, where a large number of teachers wished to have a strong position in the final outcomes, such as the consideration of transfer rights and opportunities. An example of this collaborative approach is described as follows. The Commonwealth Schools Commission funded the JESIFA Project¹, designed as an Education Department - South Australian Institute of Teachers cooperative exercise to provide information to teachers in schools on reduced prospects of teacher mobility and promotion, and to enable direct feedback so that the Education Department could develop recommendations for alternatives to current procedures. This project of 'national significance' provided an excellent data base for action, and while it did not solve short term problems, it certainly reduced the likelihood of Industrial unrest on these issues.

As part of this study methodology, the Institute was invited to comment on their contribution to Education Department curriculum policies since 1968, and an effort was made to arrange formal interviews with some former Presidents who would have been involved in any negotiations relating to policy documents. The Institute, while making its library available, chose not to be involved in the study, and unfortunately any

¹ Joint Education Department and S.A. Institute of Teachers Information and Feedback Assignment. (JESIFA). 1981, James, S.A. Govt Printer.

correspondence between the Education department and the South Australian Institute of Teachers on these matters was not available for research purposes.

Thus the research for this section had to be written based on the assumption that the South Australian Institute of Teachers interest in Curriculum policies would be reflected in the editorial comment of the 'South Australian Teachers Journal' publications, as well as in the professional articles, and debate conducted through this journal. For this reason each journal from 1967 to the present was perused, and curriculum comment extracted.

The process did reaffirm the major political concerns of the period of this study as being class sizes, ancillary assistance, building quality, resourcing of schools, together with the emerging frontiers of concern over equality, pluralism, women and girls in education, aboriginal education, religious education, peace education, special education. Specific debate on curriculum and curriculum policies beyond the frontiers mentioned was almost non-existent. Certainly, brief articles appeared outlining the Commonwealth Social Education Materials Project (SEMP), and what was happening with regards to Commonwealth inputs to resource centres and science grants, but these resembled advertising commercials, and were written to provide information about the materials produced. Debate, reaction, or concern was generally absent.

The Education Department curriculum policies mentioned above, went almost unnoticed in the journals, and in a period of twenty years, only seven articles were found that directly related to the curriculum within the South Australian Education Department. Letters to the editor over this period focussed on one or two articles written on curriculum by interested contributors. The few articles were written by either G. Boomer (Principal Education Officer at the time), A. Lawson (Primary Principal), H. Schoenheimer (Professional reformer, academic, and observer of the South Australian system), or E. Carrick (academic), and contributed little in terms of policy direction. Many of the letters to the editor were personal attacks on the above mentioned authors, or

unsubstantiated statements of support or rejection for their statements. In brief, there was very little curriculum ferment displayed in the journals of the South Australian Institute of Teachers.

J. Blackburn¹, when asked about the influence of the South Australian Institute of Teachers on curriculum issues comments.

*In Victoria, and some other states, the Unions were powerful professional bodies, but since Wilf White in South Australia, their influence has been totally insignificant.*²

Editorial comment through the journals studied confirm this, as W. White, President of the South Australian Institute of Teachers in the late 1960s, was the only leader in the last twenty five years within the South Australian Institute of Teachers to provide any focus on the curriculum responsibilities of teachers, at least within Journal discussion.

Blackburn, a respected observer of educational processes in South Australia, received submissions and interviewed some 520 people during her involvement in the formation of the Karmel Report, 'Education in South Australia', made the following comment, which provides at least one possible explanation for union apathy in curriculum policy matters:

South Australia is a small 'p' political society, where people do not talk in any serious way about ideas. The lousy daily newspaper rarely has any serious discussion on any matter of substance, and there has never been any ferment of public discussion about educational ideas, such as we have seen in Victoria. The system may be small, but that does not excuse us, for Tasmania has proved itself

¹ Jean Blackburn is generally considered as a major author of the South Australian (1971) and Commonwealth (1973) Karmel Reports.

² Interview with Blackburn, Jean. 3/3/88.

as vital and dynamic despite its relative size. Perhaps it depends more on the bureaucrats and their spirit! Parent organizations in this state have hardly been a fertile source of ideas either, so there has been nothing to balance the bureaucracy in its direction.

For all this, South Australia enjoys a fine reputation elsewhere in Australia. This is because there are very few ructions about anything, and where schools have been able to operate with 'freedom and authority' longer than anyone else with power over their own affairs. Progressive people such as Giles and Boomer have sold the state well. The other thing in the States favour is that it is so heavy on process, and on reflecting feelings. It is a human system, where people appear to matter.

Industrial interest in curriculum has not been necessary because of the process approaches involving members of the unions. This protects people, as they feel they have some control over their destiny. In many senses schools have operated much like a well run sports social club, where people have cared about the morale of the team as much as the outcomes on the field.

Blackburn's thoughts on this matter were confirmed by senior Education Department officers such as Laubsch and Giles, who became key negotiators with the South Australian Institute of Teachers.¹

Observations of the period show an unthinking faculty approach by schools to curriculum, and despite the devolution of authority and responsibility there appeared to be an assumption throughout the decade of the 1970s that *'the whole business of curriculum was on tablets of stone and was unassailable'*². Certainly, what was taught was never questioned by SAIT at any stage through the journals, or at Summit conferences. There was some responsiveness to equity issues, multi-culturalism, and to overcoming educational disadvantage, but generally it was left to the Education system to lead the discussion and develop the policies.

¹ Interview with Giles, Jim. 4/5/88. & Laubsch, Colin. 5/5/88.

² Interview with Blackburn, Jean. 3/3/88.

When Jones was asked about which groups¹ had influenced curriculum policy decisions, he included government, bureaucrats, teachers, parents, and community influences, but he did not include any mention of the South Australian Institute of Teachers.

Steinle also commented ² that he was unaware of any Institute involvement in curriculum policies he was associated with. Perhaps the consultative processes of the late 1970s and early 1980s were seen by the South Australian Institute of Teachers as meeting their purposes.

The South Australian Institute of Teachers had demonstrated little interest in any discussion or debate on curriculum policy matters. The rest of this chapter substantiates the findings just described. Through charting the curriculum activities of the South Australian Institute of Teachers, as recorded over the period of this study.

Extracts quoted support other findings of this study and support contextual statements made about such issues as the resourcing problems of the late 1960s, and the perceived need of teachers for centrally produced curriculum materials in the late 1970s. In addition, the extracts contribute further background to the study and amplify many of the social priorities described elsewhere in this study, such as emerging issues for women and girls, multi-culturalism, aboriginal studies, as well as political issues such as the fears of standardised testing in 1981, and the political power base for curriculum development that emerged.

The first major curriculum policy statement discussed in chapter four of this study was the 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum' of Jones (1970). The ideas relating to

¹ Interview with Jones, A.W. 3/11/88.

² Interview with Steinle, J.R. 8/11/88.

devolution were initiated while Walker was Director-General, whereas the policy to allow this to occur was later provided by Jones. The South Australian Institute of Teachers, through its President, White, had this to say, when the idea of 'freedom till it hurts' was first muted by Walker in an address to High School Headmasters at St Mark's College in 1968.

White begins his journal article with quotations from Walker.

'It has long been my aim', said Mr Walker, 'to give our Headmasters greater freedom in managing their own educational problems, and making educational decisions. The abolition of the 'Intermediate P.E.B.' examination, and the new deal for secondary education means that you are going to get educational freedom until it hurts - the old guide-posts are down, and you will be traversing unfamiliar territory. Here is an opportunity to be seized, coupled with a great deal of responsibility, which will test your professional capability to the full. Great achievements are possible if people involved - you and your teachers - are good enough; but if they are faint hearted, complacent and insufficiently prepared, the new system will fail by default, and the last condition will be worse than the pale thing that is masqueraded as Secondary education for all under our somewhat paternalistic and externally prescribed system in the past.'

White then writes,

We welcome this offer by the Director General, and we will watch with great interest the development of our high schools, technical high schools, and area schools over the next few years. Mr Walker has issued a challenge to the heads to take the opportunities offered for a 'new approach', for 'experimentation', to handle their 'own educational problems' and make their 'own educational decisions'.

While it is to be hoped that heads of schools (and teachers) will take up the challenge, and accept this offer of new freedom, success will only be possible if heads receive the fullest support from the administration and Inspectors, and are able to obtain the cooperation of parents, and the understanding of employers.....

.....*South Australian Institute of Teachers offers its fullest cooperation to the Director General and his officers in the pursuance of this 'new freedom' and wishes all that are or will be engaged in it much joy and success.*

The article, while supportive, is also guarded, as it goes on to say,

*While agreeing to a large extent with Mr Walker's premise, I think it is necessary that a note of warning be sounded on occasions - one such was given by Dr J.H.M. Andrews, former Professor of Education at the University of Alberta, when addressing teachers at the fourth Edmonton teacher's convention in February 1967. The following is an extract from that warning. I quote, 'The general lines of this approach seem to be eliminating the regulations to a bare minimum, the centralizing as much authority as possible to the teacher, insisting on a highly professional teacher able to handle the increased authority, and passing a good deal of decision making authority to the staff collectively. While the storm over this issue has not yet broken with full force in the schools, its ragings at University levels serve as ample warning. Certainly our present drift into the bureaucracy must be viewed with some alarm by anyone seeing good education as requiring a personal interaction between a student and professional teacher.'*¹

The South Australian Institute of Teachers, and the Karmel Report (1971), both wished to safeguard the profession by insisting on the establishment of some form of professional registration of qualified teachers. They wished to raise the professional status of teachers, and be like medical, legal, and other professions where entrance qualifications followed by a probationary period ensured a well paid and qualified workforce. Hence the ambivalence shown by White, in seeing teachers take on more of the roles once the province of the bureaucracy. Curriculum content and selection was seen as the task of the bureaucrats. This ambivalence was reflected in the South Australian Institute of Teachers' attitude to other matters such as promotion policies, as reflected in its own 'Endersby Proposals', which endeavoured to build the status of the classroom teacher through a non-hierarchical collaborative model of school operations.

¹ White, Wilfred, A. 1968, *New Freedom in Secondary Education*, in *South Australian Teachers Journal*, March, p. 5. vol. 20, no 2.

A year later, in 1969, Christiansen highlighted the powerlessness of the teaching profession in an article suggesting strike action. While this and other articles failed to stir a conservative teaching force, they added weight to the South Australian Institute of Teachers policy of desiring a credentialed work force.

Teachers are not yet a profession in the sense that doctors, lawyers, etc are. Salaries, public opinions, and government attitudes to education prove this beyond doubt.

We do not have the power of a professional body for several reasons related to politics, economics, and the nature of our clients - the young people in our care. Not being a high social status group, not being particularly aware politically, South Australian teachers are not yet a political force, that is a force that has effect on government policies.

Politicians and the more influential sector of our community do not need us, the state school teachers. Their children tend to be educated elsewhere, usually in better conditions. Politicians and business men do not need legal and medical advice, they need good architects, but they do not need good teachers.¹

As indicated in the introduction to this chapter, the Minister of Education liaised closely with the Institute of the day. In an article in the Journal in 1969, he wrote to Institute members to suggested that he understood the resourcing problem throughout educational institutions around Australia. His commentary is the forerunner of a strong political stance that demands that the Commonwealth provide substantial increases in funds for education.

At the last meeting of the Australian Education Council in March this year it was decided to undertake a nation wide survey of educational needs for a five year period, with all states in the Commonwealth taking part. Each state is to conduct a

¹ Christiansen, S. 1969, *There are Reasons why we Should Consider Strike Action*, *South Australian Teachers Journal*, New Series. Wednesday, April 23rd, vol. 1, no. 6.

survey of its own educational needs after which the secretariat of the Council will collate the results for consideration at the next meeting early next year.¹

The following year, 1970, the Journal followed the debate on resourcing, by recording these comments made by Hudson, Minister of Education, at a gathering of parents at the Annual Conference of State Welfare clubs.

While the Commonwealth controls financial decisions for the whole country, but have no responsibility for education in the States, education did not figure large on the National priority list.²

Hudson was reported as going on to ask the parents directly for their support in gaining the necessary additional financial resources from the Commonwealth Government. The debate continued until the Whitlam Labor Government substantially increased educational grants to the states.

In 1970, White summarized the major activities of the South Australian Institute of Teachers as follows.

The Institute in pursuit of its object 'to further the advance of education in South Australia', is actively engaged in a campaign aimed at gaining the support of the public for its continuing efforts to have the State and Commonwealth Governments cooperate in accepting their common responsibility - viz. that of providing sufficient financial and other resources to ensure that South Australian Education will be of the highest possible standard.³

¹ A Letter from the Minister of Education. 1969, in *South Australian Teachers Journal*, Wednesday October 8th, New Series. vol. 1, no. 16, p. 11.

² Education Does not Figure Large in National Priorities. 1970, *South Australian Teachers Journal* Wednesday August 12th. - reporting on a speech given by Hugh Hudson (Minister of Education), vol. 2, no. 32, p. 4.

³ White, W.A. 1970, *South Australian Teachers Journal*, The activities of the Institute of Teachers during 1970 is summarized, Wednesday Sept 30th, vol. 2, no. 35, p. 2.

The dilemmas of teachers of the day were not perceived as a curriculum dilemmas but rather the inadequate level of resourcing. As inadequate working conditions eventually highlighted by the Directors-General Australia wide needs survey, and reiterated in the Karmel Reports of 1970 and 1973, it was hardly surprising priorities other than curriculum policies were dominant within the Journal.

Until the government makes it financially possible for the administration to supply the buildings, equipment, and personnel which are needed for a teacher to have enough time to undertake his job to the best of his ability, the children in our schools will not receive their right, viz. equal opportunity through education.¹

The South Australian Institute of Teachers had come to realize that they needed to exercise greater political prowess, and for the first time actively canvassed the various political parties prior to the Federal election, and advised the membership of the political stances of each party. The South Australian Institute of Teachers priority was for greater resourcing for state schools, and the editorial comment makes clear which way it thought teachers should vote.

What has become obvious to this observer is that the Liberal and Country Parties, while not ignoring education, have put education well below defence and foreign policy as an election issue.

From Mr Whitlam's policy speech, the Labor party's approach is that there will be no significant advance in education at any level, in either system, unless there is a continuing and comprehensive Commonwealth commitment to all schools and both systems. They therefore propose as the first act of a next Labor Government to establish an Australian Schools Commission.

It will regularly examine the needs of non-government schools, and recommend grants that the Commonwealth should make to meet the requirements of all school aged children.²

¹ The President's Column. 1969, *South Australian Teachers Journal*, New Series. Wednesday May 7th, vol. 1, no. 7, p. 2.

² Election Summary. (1969, *South Australian Teachers Journal* New Series. Wednesday October 22nd, vol. 1, no. 17, p. 3.

In summary, the main issues emerging from teachers and demonstrated through the 1968 and 1969 South Australian Teachers Journals, seemed to be the debate leading to the achievement of better salaries, the development of equal opportunity in education for boys and girls, the call for better qualified teachers, better working conditions and classrooms, and the need for governments to increase the budget for education to improve inadequate resources.

The Australian Teachers Federation conference held in Adelaide during 1969, also highlighted the need for more money in education, if quality education was to be achieved. A submission by the South Australian Institute of Teachers to the Karmel enquiry focused on the need for a fully professional work force, and a full time teachers classification board. The South Australian Government seemed preoccupied with the need for more money to be made available from the Commonwealth for education. Against this background curriculum policies were seen to be low priority issues for the South Australian Institute of Teachers.

In 1970 Jones became Director General of Education, and the South Australian Institute of Teachers highlighted his stance in allowing teachers freedom of speech¹. Jones heralded his appointment by making the announcement to the South Australian Institute of Teachers, *'I want education to be a cooperative affair'*. Jones offered teachers the opportunity to speak out on educational issues, and this made Journal headlines. However, when the 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum' was released two weeks later, it failed to receive any mention in the Journal, despite receiving considerable publicity across the nation. This lack of acknowledgement continued throughout the entire year, being indicative that the Institute either had higher priorities, or had failed to grasp the significance of the policy statement. Headmasters were also slow to act on these new policies. While it can be argued that they did not grasp the significance of the

1 *South Australian Teachers Journal* Wednesday, March 25th, 1970. vol. 2, no. 24.

statement in terms of taking advantage of their new curriculum opportunities, many lacked skills, motivation, or inclination to develop curriculum at a school level.

The Journals continued on, further expounding the same themes. M. Haines in an article in the South Australian Teachers Journal, reiterated the need for a more professional work force, and at least demonstrated that the South Australian Institute of Teachers and Jones had similar desired outcomes, even if the reasons for them were different. *'Greater academic freedom is desirable, and towards this goal we should be moving'.¹*

Haines went on in the article to remind teachers of their professionalism, and suggested that they should play a major role in devising curriculum for the use of pupils in their school. At this time, M. Haines was a member of the Primary Curriculum Board. This was the only reference he made to curriculum in a year of regular articles.

As education entered the 1970s, academic curriculum discussion began to change focus away from 'subjects' and 'subject content', towards meeting greater social needs. The Karmel Report pointed towards new directions. Egalitarian purposes began to emerge from the rhetoric, and conference speakers such as S. Boyden feared the worst outcomes if schools did not examine education in an effort to overcome the ills of society. The teachers journal records the following text, presented by Boyden .

Education must aim to provide the individual with a balanced and coherent picture of the contemporary human situation in proper historical and biological perspective. This function of Education is very much more important at the present time than it has ever been in the past, because of the magnitude of the problems that now confront human society, and the unprecedented and accelerating rate of social and environmental change. Unless these problems are quickly and satisfactorily solved we can anticipate human suffering on a scale never seen before on earth.²

¹ Haines, M. 1970, The President's Column, *South Australian Teachers Journal* Wednesday, April 8th, vol. 2, no. 25, P 4.

² Boyden, Stephen. 1970, paper presented at the ANZAAS Symposium "Science and the Community". in the *South Australian Teachers Journal*, Wed. June 24th., vol. 2, 28,

Other issues dominating the Teachers' Institute Journals of 1970 were teacher housing inadequacies, the need for more money for schools, higher pay for teachers, and the need for smaller class size. The issue of equality for all children and financing education seemed to be re-occurring key issues, while curriculum received scant attention and occupied a minimum amount of Journal space.

While the 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum' failed to be discussed in any of the Journals published in 1970, it attracted the attention of unions interstate, with several states publishing significant portions of the memorandum in their respective magazines and journals.

The South Australian Institute of Teachers further underscored its beliefs that the system needed to be more professional, and it repeatedly used the following quotation from the Karmel Report (1971) to give authority to its arguments.

The employment of people who are unqualified at the end of their training, quite apart from its effects in schools, and on the morale of training establishments, makes it difficult for teachers to claim professional status. The control of the professional training by the employer has an adverse effect on the status of the profession.¹

The Institute endorsed most Karmel notions, and advocated similar outcomes, especially where they supported the professionalism of teachers.

Some eighteen months after its release, the 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum' finally received a brief Journal comment from the President of the Headmasters' Association, M. Hunkin.²

¹ Karmel, Peter, H, chairperson, 1971, *op. cit*, sec 14.42, p. 417.

² Hunkin, Milton, P. 1971, *South Australian Teachers Journal* Wednesday August 25th, brief Headmasters Conference summary, vol. 3, no. 32, p. 4.

Clearly the document appeared far more significant to visiting educators than members of the South Australian teachers. H. Schoenheimer, guest speaker at the Headmasters' Annual Conference highlighted this fact in the Journal. He is talking here about the reaction of Principals to the Freedom and Authority Memorandum and the opportunity offered to develop curriculum in keeping with the needs of the school community.

Rightly or wrongly, I thought I sensed a certain sluggishness in practice, in the approach to parents. Heads to whom I talked, and I talked to a fair number, believed that the administration was sincere; even the old hands - or old heads - who knew that 2071 AD would be very like 1871, seemed to think that the Minister and the Director were on their side, rather than on their backs, and that things would happen inside schools, more in some than in others.

But no-one talked excitedly to me about what he was doing or planned to do in the area of Parent-School relationships.¹

While by the end of 1971 there appeared a little more comment from the South Australian Institute of Teachers on issues such as the 'Karmel Report' and 'Freedom and Authority' - no comment at all had been passed about 'The Purposes of Schools' document produced in that year.

At the end of 1971, M. Haines was appointed to replace White as the President of the South Australian Institute of Teachers. Haines held two major objectives as President. They were the full acceptance of the professional freedom given to teachers, and improved finances for Education in the coming election year.²

¹ Schoenheimer, Henry. 1971, in the *South Australian Teachers Journal*, vol. 3, no. 15, p. 3.

² Haines, M. 1972, *South Australian Teachers Journal*, Feb 9th, vol. 4, no. 1, p. 2.

Haines suggested that personal campaigns to help meet these objectives should be strengthened, with a more concerted and coordinated effort in the election year. He urged members to use their latent but potent political power, irrespective of their political affiliation, to persuade policy makers to accept the needs survey conducted at an earlier stage by Director Generals, and to guarantee finance to allow those needs to be met. His optimism relating to the political power of the union was not shared by the general membership.

In the same issue of the Journal, Hudson, Minister of Education, said, *'There is no doubt that our affluent society can afford quality education for everyone of its members.'*¹

Hudson, in his opening address to the Australian Teachers Federation conference in Adelaide went on to say, that apart from finance, the most important single factor in education would be the improvement of the professional status of teachers, and the accompanying increase in school autonomy. This was particularly heartening to South Australian Institute of Teachers' members.

Looking back, the main issues emerging in the Teachers Journals and on the Institute agenda in 1972, were the continuing of pressures to obtain Commonwealth finance, the formation of the Schools Commission, and the possible provision of a new Education Act to implement policies of the Karmel Report that the South Australian Institute of Teachers had wanted for years (for example, improvement to Long Service Leave provisions, reconstitution of the teacher salaries board, provisions for School Councils, and provisions for handicapped children). Broad curriculum matters were almost non-issues, and 'The Purposes of Schools' policy document failed to cause anyone to put pen to paper in the entire school year. It remained of little consequence to the union.

¹ Hudson, H. 1972, *South Australian Teachers Journal*, Feb 9th, vol. 4, no. 1, p. 5.

In November 1973, Haines, in his President's column, declared that the two major goals sought after by South Australian Institute of Teachers over the past twenty years had finally been attained. They were an acceptance by the people of Australia that the Commonwealth Government has a major financial obligation in the field of education, and that systematic investigation and planning should take place on a national basis.¹

Again 1973 journals made little direct reference to curriculum matters. They focused on the new open space buildings, such as the new Para Vista High School, the need for higher levels of ancillary staffing, better teacher housing, and the need for greater time release for teachers to attend to their professional development.

In 1974, it was still more of the same. Hunkin became President of South Australian Institute of Teachers, but this did not alter the apparent disinterest of the Journal or South Australian Institute of Teachers in discussing curriculum matters.

In 1975, at least two curriculum issues became topical, the first related to the teaching of sex education as part of the Health curriculum, and the second to the teaching of Religious Education. There was also some ferment over sexism in schools, and several brief articles on these topics found their way into the Journal.

The second Journal reference to the 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum' came from an unexpected source. The South Australian Institute of Teachers Legal and Industrial officer, Mr C. Wilcox, in an article entitled, '*W(h)ither Freedom and Authority*'², questioned how serious Jones had been about his 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum'. Three years after its publication a case had commenced in the Teachers

¹ Haines, M. 1973, *South Australian Teachers Journal*, Wed Nov 28th, vol. 5, no. 18, p. 2.

² Wilcox, C.A., (1975, *W(h)ither Freedom and Authority*, *South Australian Teachers Journal* Wed February 26th, vol. 7, no. 2, p. 3.

Salaries Board under the Education Act for a new salary for class one Headmasters.

Wilcox had this to say in relation to the case.

Class I Headmasters normally have control over the most difficult schools in South Australia. It would seem that this claim for increases in salaries would have had as one of its main lines of evidence that the headmaster had more freedom and authority in his school and indeed this was one of the main facets of the case itself.

But inherent in this argument is the diminishing authority that the inspector has in the school because one can't exist without the other.

As the case progressed the inspectors themselves felt that they ought to give evidence on the question initially as to what authority they had in relation to the headmaster in the school.

Mr K.E. Barter, the Director of Secondary Education, as he was then, gave evidence as to what he considered the role of the Inspector of Secondary Schools to be vis-a-vis that of a secondary head.

He published a memorandum to the Director general of Education on September the 28th, 1973, which was after the Secondary Heads' case had commenced, and indeed after he had given evidence to the Tribunal and I quote from this memorandum:

This method of an Inspector meeting responsibility and exercising authority in relation to a head, is of a similar nature but at a higher level to the method a head is expected to use in relation to the management of his own staff.

I require the Inspector to assume the responsibility to ensure that Departmental and Divisional policy is being followed by individual schools and, if it is not, to inform heads of what requirements are and to ensure that they have been effectively implemented.

Almost inevitably the Director finds that the advice of the Inspector is accepted, an acceptance that assumes his authority.

When firm advice from the Inspector may not be readily accepted by the head the Inspectors word prevails.'

On that same authority was a written comment at the bottom of the memo signed by A.W. Jones, Director General of Education.

The written comment reads:

'This is a true statement of departmental policy on authority, status, and the function of the Inspector.'

Judge Olsson, in the salaries board hearing, repeatedly asked the question both of Headmasters and of Inspectors. *'When the crunch comes, whose authority prevails, that of the inspector or that of the headmaster?'*

The headmasters were quite unanimous. They believed that they had authority over all matters concerning the schools and should there be any conflict between the inspector on any issue then it was a matter to be resolved at the higher level between the headmaster and the director or the superintendents as the case may be, certainly not at the Inspector versus Headmaster level.¹

The matter remained unresolved at this stage, but appeared to have been one of the catalysts that helped raise 'the purposes of schools' issue again as one for the policy agenda in 1975. If the parameters were made clear, then the likelihood of policy conflict between Headmasters and Inspectors would be reduced.

Towards the end of 1975, a brief report published in the journal dealing with the National Primary Principals conference, demonstrated that discussion had started to develop relating to the possibility of the formation of a National Core Curriculum.

1976 Journal issues included a closer examination of the status of women in Education, the role of temporary relieving teachers, and leadership in schools, particularly in relation to South Australian Institute of Teachers' 'Endersby Report', suggesting a

¹ With different Director Generals of Education, and different structural arrangements within the system, there were a number of name changes for people who maintained the same status level (Public Service classification ED-3). For example in 1970 the title of Her Majesty's Inspector changed to District Inspector. In 1975 it changed again to Principal Education Officer, and in 1983 became Superintendent of Schools, only to change again in 1988 to District Superintendent of Education. In a similar way, the word Headmaster was replaced with the word Principal in 1975, and Superintendents of Curriculum (higher status than Inspector) became Assistant Directors of Education in 1983.

banding structure that would remove hierarchies from the operational management of schools. Letters to the editor focussed on this in particular.

Apart from an address given by Jones to a meeting of the Whyalla Teachers Association,¹ and reported on by the South Australian Institute of Teachers in the Journal, the publication remained barren on curriculum matters. In his address, Jones (1976) highlighted the changing roles of School Councils, and amongst matters canvassed, examined the advisory and decision making powers that School Councils had in relation to school curriculum. He indicated in the article the interest of the Commonwealth Schools Commission in the devolution and decentralization of authority where teachers, parents, and the school community shared in the curriculum decision making.

Curriculum comment in the Journal in the late 1970s focussed on changing value systems. Many of the issues had been prompted by the priorities of the Schools Commission as well as a changing local context. Nevertheless, the debate grew relating to the responsibilities of educators to develop pluralism and multi-culturalism within schools.

At an Australian Teachers Federation conference in 1978, A. Grasby (Commonwealth Commissioner for Community Relations), criticized schools for their out-dated curricula. He said, *'Australia is a multi-cultural society, but its Universities, Colleges, Institutes and Schools are not.'*

In a challenging address that received publicity on TV, radio, and the press around Australia, he warned delegates *'too often schools and their curricula are geared for an*

¹ Jones, A.W. 1976, *South Australian Teachers Journal*, vol. 8, no. 13.

*English Village of 1878, rather than a multi-cultural Australia in 1978. Too often the teacher is the only alien in the classroom.'*¹

Grasby went on to talk about the poor deal the Australians had given the Aboriginal population, Greeks, Italians, and Maltese.

At the same time the Australian newspapers included many articles about married women in the work-force in Australian society. At the beginning of 1978, South Australian Institute of Teachers appointed a women's adviser, H. Menzies, who developed as a priority a number of arguments supporting married women in the educational work-force. As this was an area of priority to the South Australian Institute of Teachers, it received good journal coverage.

The full annual report of the South Australian Institute of Teachers was published in the Journal for the first time in 1978. It did not mention curriculum matters.

Finances available to government schools occupied considerable editorial space during 1978. The South Australian Institute of Teachers president, J. Gregory, in a lead article, highlighted the \$8 million cut relating to capital works in Government schools over the triennium 1979 - 1981. He pointed out that the cuts would mean reductions in vital education services, such as school libraries, curriculum development, inservice teacher training, and resource centres.²

¹ Grasby, Al. 1978, *South Australian Teachers Journal*, Wednesday February 15th. vol. 10, no. 1.

² Gregory, John. 1978, *South Australian Teachers Journal*, Wednesday June 1st, vol. 10, no. 8. p. 1.

The 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum' was running into some problems. The 'South Australian Teachers Journal' published a headline which read 'Department Over-Rules School in Student Promotion Clash'.¹

A decision of the staff at a metropolitan high school to return a year twelve probation student to year eleven, based on inadequate achievement, was over-ruled by the Acting Director General of Education. The staff claimed the bureaucracy was using an unpublished and obscure policy statement on the rights of parents.

The Acting Director General of Education claimed differently, invoking policy statement Ed 809/3/80, dated the 12th January, 1977, giving parents the final right to enrol students in any course they want to, despite the school policy, and any sound advice given. The problem was highlighted with a cartoon in the 'South Australian Teachers Journal' questioning the freedom and responsibility of Principals.

The Journals of late 1978 contained the first real semblance of debate in a decade of reporting. An article by E. Caddick challenges the philosophy behind G. Boomer's book 'Negotiating the Curriculum'.² He suggests that the real argument about Curriculum is all about power, and not about learning theory at all. The article failed to bring any immediate response from teachers or from bureaucrats. It was left to Boomer³ to respond, and the two continued their argument through the auspices of the Journal.

A further illustration of the Journal's lack of emphasis on curriculum issues can be drawn by comparing space devoted to food and wine as compared with curriculum.

¹ *South Australian Teachers Journal*. 1978, Wednesday July 19th, vol. 10, no. 10, p. 1.

² Caddick, E. 1978, *South Australian Teachers Journal*, Wednesday October 25th, vol. 10, no. 16, p. 11.

³ G. Boomer was Principal Education Officer in the Curriculum Directorate of the South Australian Education Department at this time.

During 1978, the South Australian Teachers Journal devoted approximately two pages per edition to wining and dining, whereas the total copy discussing curriculum amounted to less than four part pages of copy for the entire year.

The 1979 Teachers Journals showed a rekindling of some curriculum debate, with a number of teachers writing letters to the editor supporting Boomer in his argument with Caddick. The debate is emotional rather than rational, with people who knew Boomer personally placing faith in his judgement.

The March edition of the 'South Australian Teachers Journal', 1979, contained an article called *The Primary Principals Curriculum Paper*. It was produced by members of a sub-committee formed by the Primary Principals Association, and was established to examine the needs of Primary Schools. Membership of that committee was from interest and motivation, and a number of Primary Principals chose to enter into discussion groups to investigate needs.

A significant aspect of this curriculum initiative was the tapping of views of classroom teachers, who according to the committee, made a most significant input.

In the teachers' opinion, primary schools in general, and class-room teachers in particular needed structured curriculum support materials in all the subject areas which they were expected to cover.

We believe this curriculum support should acknowledge (1) the role of the class teacher and the school Principal as it is, and not what it might be, (2) the organizational structure of the vast majority of our schools, and (3) the procedures for operation that are common in most schools.¹

¹ *South Australian Teachers Journal*. 1979, Wednesday March 7th.
vol. 11, no. 2.

The teachers went on to say that they wanted curriculum support prepared by people with expertise, background, and specific training, who could be constantly influenced by teachers, senior staff, interested committees, administrators, and the wider community.

They summarized their major difficulties as (a) lack of appropriate curriculum support, (b) isolation from professional advice and guidance for curriculum development, and (c) the magnitude of the task, and the inadequate time and expertise to develop school based curriculum. They made note that there had been a moratorium on Primary Curriculum committees since 1972, and the revision and development of curriculum guide-lines for Primary schools had been seriously questioned as the most appropriate way to support schools.

The Principal of Grange Primary School, A. Lawson, responded in a lengthy article¹, pointing out that there were bodies of opinion that were quite critical of the various guidelines produced by the Education Department. Teachers, Lawson said, felt that material produced was too philosophical in content, and did not provide the means to achieve good programming and planning. This point of view was demonstrated to be reasonably universal by Aston and Wiseman in their collation of ideas and opinions leading to the 'Amplification of Schools' document produced in 1978.

Apart from these two major articles, and the Boomer/Caddick debate, the Journals of 1979 focussed on the issue of the South Australian Institute of Teachers split with the Australian Teachers Federation, and the matter of teacher selection which had emerged from a teacher surplus at a time of enrolment decline. Levels of teacher unemployment thus became an issue, with the Journal supporting notions of quality education through reduced class size. The question of resources had raised its head again!

¹ Lawson, A. 1979, *South Australian Teachers Journal*, vol. 11, no. 11, p. 5.

The 1980 South Australian Teacher Journals devoted three pages only (annual total) to curriculum matters, in some 3000 pages of copy. These three pages dealt with the curriculum issues of Aboriginal Education, Primary German, and Road safety. Industrial and personnel matters appeared to take precedence over all else in terms of 1980 Journal copy. While this may be partly the product of the editorial priorities, clearly the matter of what was to be taught was seen by teachers to be the responsibility of the Education Department. Significant curriculum documents produced about this time such as 'The Amplification of the Purposes of Schools'¹ were not mentioned anywhere in Journal copy.

The relative importance of curriculum policy to the South Australian Institute of Teachers is demonstrated through a statistical table showing the amount of money spent by the South Australian Institute of Teachers on professional development including salaries, professional development grants, the cost of preparing reports, and curriculum matters. In all, only 1.3% of the total South Australian Institute of Teachers expenditure for 1980² was spent on these matters.

In 1982, the Australian Teachers Federation conducted their 62nd Annual Conference in Perth. As South Australia had by now patched up its 1979 differences with the Australian Teachers Federation, it sent several delegates to the conference, including the the South Australian Institute of Teachers vice President, C. McCarty. She reported on the conference, publishing the main text from the President of the Australian Teachers Federation's address under the journal headline 'Curriculum is a Political Matter'³. G. Tickell, President of the Australian Teachers Federation, concluded in his

¹ This document produced in 1978 was a fore-runner to 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' policy document, and was given a wide circulation as part of a consultative process.

² *South Australian Teachers Journal*. 1981, Wednesday May 6th, vol. 13, no. 6, p. 13.

³ Tickell, G. 1982, *South Australian Teachers Journal*, Wednesday 15th February, p. 15.

address that Unionists could no longer concern themselves with only so-called industrial matters. They had to be clear about the nature and effects of learning and emphasize the importance of this to parents and the general public.

From the text of Tickell's address, it appeared that this concern had grown from the fear that a national testing programme would be introduced (Australian Studies in School Performance), and the fear that some teacher jobs could be lost to computerized instruction. The concerns expressed at the conference were sufficient to encourage the the South Australian Institute of Teachers to appoint a curriculum convener as part of its executive membership in 1983.

The curriculum convener appointed was C. Campbell, an Unley High School teacher, and he in turn attended a number of curriculum conferences, including a National Curriculum Conference in Adelaide in August. Reporting in the SA Teachers Journal he noted that teacher Unions were now represented on the Schools Commission.¹

His stance on curriculum matters was re-active rather than pro-active. In his journal statement he noted his belief that teacher unions could help in the rejection of governments not seen to be suggesting good public education. As an example

.....if the SA Education Department introduced an administration that was patriarchal and punitive it could be effectively resisted at union and teacher level.

The expectation of the South Australian Institute of Teachers was that the South Australian Education Department would provide the philosophy, content, and syllabus, with teachers and the union being the watch-dog. There did not appear to be any apparent desire on the behalf of the South Australian Institute of Teachers to be influential in directing educational pathways. Indeed, this was the one and only report printed from the

¹ Campbell, C. 1983, *South Australian Teachers Journal*, Wednesday Sept 14th,

curriculum convenor, and if the position continued beyond 1980, it is not apparent in the contents of Journals.

Boomer, by now the Director of Wattle Park Teachers Centre, had challenged the South Australian Institute of Teachers (through its Journal) to take a more active role in curriculum matters. He was not convinced by statements in the Keeves Report suggesting the failure of school based curriculum, and suggested that the calls for an 'off-the hook curriculum world' be resisted. He questioned the 'base data leading to the Keeves Report solutions¹, and gives the following challenge

It is time for the South Australian Institute of Teachers through the Journal and other union outlets to become strong and constructive on matters relating to the curriculum The best central curriculum guides will be those where teachers have been able to get together to document their own good practice. Teachers given access to new information, then sharing strategies and struggles together with the besetting problems of education, can take the lead themselves with the opportunity of nurturing and supporting central and regional structure.²

In summary, the Journals of the South Australian Institute of Teachers failed to contain any significant debate in relation to South Australian Curriculum Policies. Apart from the pleas in 1978 from the Primary Principals' Association for the Education Department to develop firm policies and clear curriculum content, the South Australian Institute of Teachers did not appear to have any real curriculum stance, and hence had little policy influence in this area.

It is only fair to add that the efforts of both the Primary Principals Association and Secondary Principals Association (branches of the South Australian Institute of

¹ Keeves, J.P. (Chairman). 1982, *Education and Change in South Australia - final report of the Committee of Enquiry into Education in South Australia*, S.A. Govt Printer, 3.3, p. 27; 3.4, p. 28; 3.9, p. 33; 4.6, p. 42.

² Boomer, G. 1982, *South Australian Teachers Journal*. 1982, Wednesday Aug 4th, p. 6.

Teachers) were partly instrumental in bringing about the 'The Amplification of the Purposes of Schools' initiatives in 1978. They had at least begun to examine the issues of the day in an effort to establish a framework for curriculum development in schools. The task was never completed. Their separate primary and secondary efforts were put aside to meet the changed system expectancies with the formation of the Curriculum Directorate in the reorganized Department.

Unlike the teacher unions of the eastern states of Australia, the South Australian Institute of Teachers failed to influence the curriculum directions of its state during the period of this study. It could be argued that ambivalence in getting involved came from the concern that teachers did not have the time or expertise to take on roles normally the province of the bureaucracy, while at the same time teachers wished to be seen as truly professional and involved in the real decisions about structuring learning experiences. Ambivalence became inaction, and inaction disinterest, with the Education Department expected to provide the philosophy, processes and content in all areas of curriculum.

8.2. Parent Involvement?

The constitutional responsibility of public school education was clearly a state responsibility over the period considered by this study, and as such the extent of devolution of decision-making and involvement of parents and the community in areas such as curriculum was very much determined by the State. Apart from the ultimate responsibility to parliament, the only level in South Australia at which there was legislative provision for community or parental involvement was, the Advisory Curriculum Board, at the central policy level, and School Councils at the school level.

The latter groups were statutory bodies established under the Education Act, which was last revised in 1972. The main aim of the Act revisions was to involve parents more in the educational programmes of schools. The number of parents on councils had to exceed half the total membership; other members included were nominees of the school

staff, school students, in the secondary section local government, and the local member of parliament. The Principal was an ex officio member, and parent and community members were elected at an annual general meeting.

The specified roles of the school council were clearly 'advisory', and while principals were in 'undisputed control of their schools'¹, their ability to influence school curriculum policies was totally dependent on their ability to persuade the Principal on such matters. There was no line of accountability of the Principal to the School Council.

The Advisory Curriculum Board was formed in 1979, to replace the inert Primary and Secondary Boards. A curriculum moratorium in the five years from 1972, and the Education Department reorganisation activities that followed had reduced parent involvement through boards to general 'inactivity'. The new board was formed by the Minister of Education with increased parent and community membership to advise the Director General of Education. In practice it related to the Curriculum Directorate, who managed to achieve the placement of a majority of curriculum officers on this committee. As indicated earlier, the agenda was formed by the Director of Curriculum, who also chaired the meetings.

Dialogue beginning with the Karmel Report, and continuing through the period of study, indicated that there should be opportunity for increased participation of parents and community in policy decisions relating to curriculum. In a similar way, parents were promised that they would be involved in areas such as staff selection and provision of physical resources. Director General, Steinle, foreshadowed further movements in these areas in a new Departmental publication called *Inside Education*², where he suggests greater authority and responsibility be given to school councils in the management of

¹ Jones, A. W. 1970, *Memorandum to Heads of Departmental Schools : Freedom and Authority in Schools*, op. cit.

² Steinle, J.R. 1979, in *Inside Education*, S.A. Education Department, vol. 2, no. 10.

many more aspects of schooling. A desire of succeeding Director Generals since Walker had clearly been to achieve greater involvement of parents in curriculum policy matters. This was evidenced through their rhetoric and supported in the Government initiated enquiries, yet opportunities remained extremely limited.

Effectively, if parents really wished to alter curriculum policy, they had to rely on political intervention at a Cabinet level or present their collective voice to the Curriculum Directorate through an organization such as SAASSO.¹

Field and archival research failed to find any significant input from parents in the curriculum policy process. This was confirmed by I. Wilson, President of SAASSO (see appendix D), who had been involved with school Councils since 1972, involved with SAASSO since 1974, and was voted President from 1977 until 1989.

Wilson says,

In terms of curriculum policies, I would say there has been minimal involvement throughout the years. When I first joined SAASSO in the early 1970s, there was a Primary Curriculum Advisory Board, and a Secondary Curriculum Advisory Board. There was a survey done of Primary Education at that stage, and we had representation on that committee. Shortly after that, when R-12 became the flavour of the month, those two committees disappeared, and they were ultimately replaced by the Advisory Curriculum Board, which did not have any decision making powers. It was an advisory committee to the Director General, but was never in the position of formulating curriculum policies. Thus, I state quite categorically, in terms of actually shaping any curriculum policies, we have not been in it.²

¹ SAASSO is an acronym for the South Australian Association of State Schools Organization - the recognised official voice of School Councils following legislation in 1972 changing the Education Act.

² Interview with Ian Wilson, President of South Australian Association of State Schools Organizations 1975 - 1989, 23/11/88. Page 2 of notes.

Wilson went on to point out that SAASSO did not even receive copies of new or potentially new curriculum until 1979, and even then, it was only after specifically requesting it. He had further thoughts about the Advisory Curriculum Board which confirm comments made by M. O'Brien and others interviewed.

The board was stacked with Departmental officers, and it had a kind of legitimating process role. It was mushroom type of stuff - we were fed some information to give us a sense of being involved, so that we would be less likely to criticize.¹

Wilson was critical of the approaches used in the Education Department to involve parents in curriculum policy development. It appeared to him that they were never involved in agenda setting or writing processes. If involved at all, it would be in ratifying the work of one of the curriculum committees. Most activity involving parents involved reading and commenting on draft documents.

It focuses the agenda in such a way that it becomes exceedingly difficult to place anything else on the agenda. It stifles creativity. You are asked to comment and criticize or commend what someone else has done, but you are not in there in the nuts and bolts stage where you set up the agenda. It has been very rare for us to be involved in the stage of setting the agenda. Recently our role has been one of giving ticks or comments on some-one else's work. The ticks are accepted, but the comments get lost somewhere in the process.²

Wilson went on to comment that if we were talking about power, control, and influence, the contribution of parents had been at a very low level. For them to actually influence curriculum policies, they had to maintain very different strategies, such as ensuring that they were well represented on government enquiries into education³ and be involved in influential committee work. Wilson notes that,

¹ *ibid*, p 2.

² *ibid*, p 4.

³ Wilson was a key member of the Keeves committee, Gilding review team³, and a number of other lesser enquiries.

If you go another route, you pick up things such as the Senior Secondary Assessment Board of South Australia, (SSABSA), where I've been a member since the early days from the Ministerial enquiry to now. I have been very much involved in the policies of this body. The critics would suggest that the policies of SSABSA have significantly influenced the curriculum policies of the Education Department. While the Department has the say from years one to eleven, they can not ignore the courses designed by SSABSA, as there is no point in taking a child through eleven years of schooling, where there would not be recognition following year 12.

A common strategy for us has been to become involved in things such as the Primary Education Review (1986), and the two tertiary enquiries set up by Gilding. These each set up a parent reference committee, where we were able to comment on and plug in to the various stages as the process went on. I found this to be quite useful, but again contributions can be ignored, as we have no control of outcomes. At least we have been kept abreast of actions from the formative stages, and have been given the opportunity to plug in.

Wilson describes a level of frustration in the ability of SAASSO to 'make the curriculum running'. This was probably best noted in the efforts to have the School Council legislation updated to ensure their greater involvement in all aspects of schooling. In 1983 SAASSO were successful in convincing both Government and the Education Department that the role of the School Council should be subject to review. Significant input went into this, with discussion papers written, feedback sought, and recommendations made. Some regulation changes were approved by Parliament in 1986, but were not gazetted until December 1989.

Schools too have made it difficult for parents to be involved. In some high schools, industrial democracy policies of the South Australian Institute of Teachers have been interpreted in interesting ways. Some schools have set up decision making committees

An Enquiry into Immediate Post Compulsory Education (some-time referred to as Education for 15 - 18 year olds, or the Gilding enquiry after the chairperson Kevin Gilding), was set up in December 1986. It was asked to look at senior secondary schooling and the influence on it of higher education admission requirements.

heavily dominated by staff. The School Council is expected to refer its decisions to this body for final approval. The South Australian Institute of Teachers have actively encouraged this collegiate model, and the Education Department has encouraged shared decision making. The outcome has in some cases excluded parents, with decisions being made by powerful staff dominated groups. This approach runs contrary to the Act.

While the rhetoric of parent participation has encouraged parents to become involved in schooling, the legislation at a systems level almost excluded them, and there appeared minimal interest amongst the bureaucracy to make changes. Even at a school level where the School Council is the official voice of parents, the school Principal generally controls the agenda, and determines what does or does not get discussed.

The competence of parents to be involved in curriculum planning also raised the issue relating to the professionalism of teachers. Certainly, the South Australian Institute of Teachers would argue that curriculum should belong to the professionals, even questioning whether teachers in the field have the time, skills, and expertise to meet the spirit of the 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum'. This was clearly a theme articulated often during the early 1970s.¹

The South Australian Labor Government, on the surface at least, had been supportive of parents, and declared 1986 as the year of 'Parents and Students in Schools.' Wilson's comments on this are worth noting, and are confirmed by two other interviews with South Australian Association of State Schools Organisations committee members who have asked to remain anonymous..

'As far as the executive of SAASSO was concerned we have had representation on the committees to develop the notorious Parent Participation policy. The latter is a very interesting example of what can happen, because the Parents Participation Policy committee became a sub-committee of the 'Parents and

¹ Haines, Murray. 1970, Presidents Column, in *South Australian Teachers Journal*, Wednesday, April 8th. vol. 2, no. 25, p. 4.

Students in Schools' (PASS committee set up by the Minister of Education) - an interesting acronym, for that is exactly what happened - we were passed by. I even made the comment in 1986 that I wished we weren't the focus of attention as we got more out of Government when we were quietly working in the background. This Parent Participation policy was developed by a sub committee of PASS, who looked at it and forwarded it to the Department, who in turn completely re-wrote it, ignoring all that had been done by parents in a participatory process. Yet Departmental Officers claim that the policy is owned by the parents!¹

In brief, while it could be expected that parents would have been stakeholders in the development of all major curriculum policies developed in South Australia, at least since the 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum', the actuality is that they have been effectively excluded from major roles at both the system and school levels. Curriculum policy was seen to be a centralized bureaucratic process, punctuated with political events that hastened or slowed outcomes.

¹ Interview with Wilson, Ian. President of South Australian Association of State Schools Organizations 1975 - 1989, 23/11/88, p 6 of notes.

Chapter Nine:

Question of Changing Values as Policy Stimuli?

In undertaking the study of policy processes leading to the development of curriculum policies in South Australia, it was assumed that the matter of values would be important in determining the purposes of schooling, and subsequently in developing curriculum policies. It was believed that influences such as the Reform Movement in American Education, the Women's movement in Australia, and changing attitudes, expectations and standards of living within communities, would make the question of values a malleable variable for close scrutiny in the context of new policies.

Theorists support the notion that curriculum policies grow from values or beliefs about schooling. For example, Fox (1972)¹ has charted values as the starting point in the curriculum process (see the diagram 9.1). Tyler (1950) says

Values are often proposed as a beginning point in curriculum decision making. When this is the case, the values become the criteria for selection of curricular aims, and the aims become value statements in themselves²

The impact of values on policy formation has been acknowledged by many public policy theorists.³ It is therefore relevant to spend some time in exploration of values at the times of significant curriculum policy developments in South Australia. Of the malleable variables under consideration, value systems appear to be the most subject to influence from a wide variety of sources and hence could not be ignored in this study.

¹ Fox, R. 1972, *Innovation in the Curriculum: An Overview*, in *Interchange*, Ontario Institute of Studies in Education, vol. 2/3, 1972.

² Tyler, Ralph W. 1950, *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, p 22.

³ Beauchamp, George A. 1981, *Curriculum Theory* (fourth edition). F.E. Peacock Publishers, Illinois, pp. 91 - 107s

9.1. *The political background.*

The 1971 policy statement on 'The Purposes of Schools' and subsequent revisions were made up of a number of value positions and statements. This could be expected, as society wished schools to inculcate certain values in children.

Values and value judgements permeate curriculum decisions. The primary problem of curriculum is to decide what shall be taught in schools. This is a value question in itself and one that can not be answered by empirical means. In the process of choosing what shall be taught in schools, a host of additional value judgements must be made. For example, the curriculum simply can not contain all of the elements of our culture that conceivably might be transmitted to the young. A fundamental process in curriculum planning is that of selecting curriculum content from the total culture; therefore curriculum planners must address themselves to questions of what knowledge and skills are of most worth and which of those should be included in the curriculum. Curriculum planners have to decide what value concepts are to be taught in schools, and upon vehicles to be used to help students learn how to deal with value questions.¹

In making recommendations to the South Australian Government, The Karmel Report (1971) clearly gives the impression that the heart of any satisfactory educational programme consists of those basic values that give meaning to the purposes, plans, and activities of schools and scholars.²

The dilemma of the policy actors was one of satisfying the sometimes conflicting perceived needs of those who held specific expectancies of schools, and those who were involved in the subsequent steps of designing, developing and implementing school curriculum. Value statements of intent could easily become vague generalizations to the point of becoming meaningless to the person trying to construct a formal curriculum.

¹ Beauchamp, George A. 1981, *op. cit*, p. 91.

² Karmel, Peter, H. chairperson, 1971, *op. cit*, p. 2, and pp. 541-542.

School practitioners, for example, found it difficult to interpret what action to take to meet the 1971 declared purpose 'to acquire the habits and attitudes associated with responsible citizenship', or 'to prepare for a world of rapid change'. Such statements were quoted by teachers in the early 1970s as 'impossible to fulfil,' as the goals were unclear.¹ This became one of the many reasons for the 1975 review of 'the Purposes of Schools' document, and the subsequent 1981 revision, though outcomes of each new version of purposes tried to accommodate for the wide range of beliefs. Broad objectives remained allowing wide variations in the possible interpretations.

On the other hand, such documents as 'The Purposes of Schools', if stated too specifically, would become inflexible, and even fail to express adequately the broad wishes of the stakeholders in society.

Most theorists refer to these more specific statement as objectives of the more broadly based policy statements. Many teachers of the early 1970s, following years of prescription and description, would have preferred statements of clear objectives, with the means to achieve these clearly spelt out.² Director Generals Jones and Steinle wished to avoid this style of approach, for they were advocates of the professionalism of the teachers in schools.

The 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum' (1970) and 'The Purposes of Schools' (1971) rekindled South Australian debate in schools on the form and content of school curricula. The Karmel Report had already taken a value stance which was reflected in the subsequent policy documents, but teachers were still very much divided as to purposes and objectives, with some rejecting emerging areas of concern such as 'pluralism'. Miller

¹ Interview with Steinle, J.R. 3/11/88.

² Outcome of Secondary School Survey of South Australian schools conducted by M. Strange 1974/1975 - Source: Education Dept Archives.

(1986), in recording historical perspectives of Education in South Australia, identified three main sets of values (beliefs) prevalent in the teaching profession in the 1970s.¹

Firstly, there were protagonists who believed that there was an identifiable body of knowledge and 'cultural heritage' in our society which educators should transmit. Such curriculum would involve top-down instruction, set textbooks and detailed prescription of courses, external examinations and inspection, fully occupied student time and rigid rules of conduct and discipline for students (and teachers).

The second group favoured a skill based model of instruction. Their major emphasis was on the ability of students to cope with social change, and on the process rather than the content of learning. Their goals included the development of flexible students able to operate in a variety of environments, and able to take initiative to research for their own needs, rather than the learning of facts. This would require schools to develop mental skills that could be applied in a variety of contexts.

The third group proffered proposals akin to the various streams of New Education in America, where again the more traditional approaches to learning were being challenged. Miller identified teachers (with a loose alliance to radical groups in the community) as the main protagonists. To them, the context was as important as the skills to be learnt; and facts were inseparably linked with the political power of competing social groups. Their aim was to develop in all students the ability to analyze critically and transform existing society.

Given the diversity above, any attempt at a 'rational comprehensive' or 'synoptic' approach to develop a statement of purposes for South Australia was fraught with difficulty, and it is not surprising that the first document of its kind (1971) was written by

¹ Miller, Pavla. 1986, *Long Division: State Schooling in South Australian Society*, Wakefield Press, pp. 310-311.

an individual, as a committee had failed to achieve any consensus on content. This document adopted many of the values reflected by each of the groups identified by Miller (1986) and incorporated in the Karmel Report (1971), and received general acceptance by schools and the Government of the day who had agreed to implement the major findings of the Karmel enquiry.

Not all policies and decisions which had curriculum implications were made by the Education Department, as governments tend to unfold their own party platforms from values they hold or develop. The Labor Party, for example, when it assumed Government in South Australia in 1967, introduced the policy decision that the existing high schools should be converted to comprehensive co-educational secondary schools. The Education Department were expected to develop the process by which this might be carried out. The value system applied in this case was the value of 'equality of opportunity for all students', with 'equal access' to all courses being the operative starting point. The Karmel Report adopts a similar value set.-and devoted a whole chapter to it¹, and thus reinforced and further developed the political stance already declared in 1967.

In the 1972 Federal elections education was a key issue. The Australian Labor Party saw that a reformed school system as a useful tool in the promotion of 'equality'. As they saw much educational disadvantage as residing in the family environment, they promoted the idea of universal pre-school education as the most important single weapon in promoting equality and in overcoming social, economic, and language inequalities.

As governments unfairly influenced the educational climate in which policy was developed in the educational organisation, policy developers needed to be aware of the value systems of the government of the day. The value system under-pinning the South

¹ Karmel, Peter, H. chairperson, 1971, *op. cit.*, pp. 25 - 42.
Value statements, which relate to the development of the individual, are amplified in detail in chapter 14 of the Karmel Report, where the matter of equality of opportunity is canvassed..

Australian Government's actions, were made more practical through the Karmel Report recommendations (1971). Government's acceptance of these recommendations and the Education Department's consequent implementation of them, set the educational direction for the next ten years.

This section examines the prevalent value systems of the policy period under consideration, and their influence on curriculum policies.

Values inherent in the influential reports of the period of study are first summarized and their influence then recorded. Documents include the 'Report of the Committee of Enquiry into Education in South Australia 1969-1970' (1971), the Schools in Australia: Interim Committee for the Australian Schools Commission (1973), and the Keeves Report 'Education and Change in South Australia (1981)'.

Also included is comment on the values and influence of Phenix (1964), whose values and theoretical curriculum framework influenced Aston, the author of 'The Amplification of the Purposes of Schools' in 1978.

9.2. A Question of Changing Values as Policy Stimuli? The Karmel Report into Education in South Australia.

The Karmel Report began from the stance that education needed to achieve a number of purposes. Some of the purposes were related to preparation for employment, while others were concerned with the preparation of scholars who would themselves add to knowledge and to practice and become in their turn responsible for the further development and transmission of their special fields of competence. Still others were related to the satisfaction of personal interests. The Karmel Report considered each of these in the social context in which schools operated, and developed implications for schools in terms of curricula, organization, methods, and purposes.

The Karmel Report (1971), rejected the view that the school should take full responsibility for moral and ethical development, or produce a single type of person. It saw society as uncertain of many of its values and unwilling to provide for children models of behaviour which were accepted and used by the post-school society.

In a society which was constantly changing, the constant reorganization of existing ideas would in turn reflect and change values. At the same time, the very nature of the curriculum of schools, their organization, and teaching methods expressed, provided illustrations of existing values, which would need to change to accommodate new ideas. The Karmel Committee gave high priority to the matter of values in the early chapters of the final report.

The following is a summary of the key values implicit in the Karmel Report¹, followed by articulation of some key processes identified.

- (a) The system of Government is that of a parliamentary democracy. Schools should reflect such democratic processes in the content they teach and the processes of delivery.
- (b) Material wealth is important in achieving the ability to live better, and hence schools need to develop a skilled work-force to further stimulate the economy, and access its material resources.
- (c) Values such as the development of emotions, reasoning, and language, as human characteristics are of lesser priority, as they may be developed in activities beyond schooling.

¹ **ibid**, pp. 27-33.

- (d) Education needs to prepare students that are flexible in outlook, and prepared for further learning so that they can keep abreast of changes. Communication and problem solving skills thus require greater emphasis within schools.
- (e) Students need to be encouraged to stay at school longer to develop a greater range of skills for the work force.
- (f) Problem solving and analytical skills to re-appraise situations are desirable outcomes of schooling.
- (g) Schools need to further foster an appreciation of other cultures to maintain cultural harmony in Australia.
- (h) The interdependence of people and ideas need greater attention as a means of understanding society.
- (i) High priority needs to be given to the development of self confidence and personal esteem within the education system.
- (j) Society must express a far greater concern for the handicapped and underprivileged.
- (k) Barriers of distance, language, and ways of life are rapidly disappearing. Therefore skills to interpret new information and modes of delivery need to be developed in schools, for knowledge is no longer limited to the printed page.
- (l) As two million migrants have entered the country in the past twenty years, the development of pluralism is a clear issue demanding an educational response.

To help individual children make the most of their abilities, the Karmel Report examines processes that will allow children to fit into the social context it has described. The most important of these are summarized briefly below.

- (a) **Skills and Abilities:** The Karmel Report identifies a number of basic skills which for one reason or another were required for all citizens in their daily lives. These include reading, listening, writing, mathematical operations, health and physical fitness, understanding of the environment, elementary skills in the arts, and logics in decision making.
- (b) **Interest in Learning:** The Karmel Report highlights the need to remove drudgery and excessive drills, and notions of success and failure from programmes. Learning how to learn was seen as more important in terms of the rapidly changing society described.
- (c) **Understanding Self and Others:** An aim for schools was to develop an awareness of strengths and personal weaknesses which could be used by graduates to make rational choices about occupations, further learning, and the future.
- (d) **Decisions about Vocations:** Schools should develop a capacity of students to know themselves and be able to make a decision between the various kinds of jobs available. Schools need to emphasize a broad general education, so that later adaptation becomes easier.
- (e) **A Study of Society:** Schools are to develop children who are critically minded. In this way when they are mature enough, they can seek evidence of important issues and play a part in improving social institutions.

- (f) **Personal Values:** The Karmel Report saw the task of schools as helping students to build a stable set of personal values which would give both personal satisfaction and provide a basis for living in a community.
- (g) **Sex and Health Education:** While unclear about content, the Karmel Report believes the school needs to impart knowledge about the relations between the sexes, to assist pupils to establish personal values and attitudes which govern the behaviour of one sex to and with the other.
- (h) **Factual Knowledge:** The schools should provide adequate factual knowledge to defeat ignorance, and to motivate children to challenge information presented through the media and other sources.

The values contained in the purposes envisaged by the Karmel Report and summarized above, demanded of schools that they prepare pupils for the future and equip them for participation in the world. Thus the Karmel Report was suggesting that the school atmosphere reflect the interpersonal relationships that were thought desirable in a society. The values governing the organization of the school, and the behaviour of the people in it, needed to be those that contributed to a society not averse to change but prepared for it to be evolutionary rather than revolutionary.

The Karmel Report recommended far more egalitarian approaches to education than the past, in the belief that schools could enhance and even transform society through the development of a sound knowledge base, greater equality, personal growth, and the preparation of individuals for a changing world.

The Karmel Report suggests that decentralization of decision making would produce a climate more favourable to these developments - an issue addressed by 'The

Freedom and Authority Memorandum'¹. The Karmel committee is critical of the Education Department's strong sense of hierarchy, and its pressure towards uniformity and conformity, and fully endorses the Jones memorandum which departs radically from established practice. It did point out though, that since the Education Department's lofty aspirations conflicted with its own restrictive regulations, many schools would be reluctant to follow the lead of Jones.²

In summary, six values came to be amplified by the Karmel Report as desirable qualities for the South Australian Education Department; a non-authoritarian approach to educational matters; a concern for the individual child; equality of educational opportunities; a diversity of educational institutions; a decentralization of decision making; and the opening up of the educational system to a variety of ideas.³

The values articulated by the Karmel Report became the foundation values of the Education system described in the early versions of 'the Purposes of Schools' documents. Once recorded and accepted by cabinet, they were treated as authoritative and unchallengeable. The matter became one of implementation rather than acceptance.

The approach to using values adopted by the Karmel Report, (1971), is similar to that of other contemporaries. For example Inlow (1972) wrote, *'Values, simply stated, are the determiners in man that influence his choices in life, and thus decide his behaviour'*⁴

¹ Jones, A.W. 1970, op. cit.

² ibid, pp. 500-505; pp. 533-534

³ ibid, p. 537: p. 2.

⁴ Inlow, Gail M. 1972, op. cit, p. 2.

These were the rules by which the Karmel Report believed the curriculum should be shaped, and needed to be reflected in the attitudes and dispositions associated with the South Australian context. Some values were seen as 'instrumental', while others were 'inherent'¹ according to whether they were prized in themselves (for example, industry and honesty) or whether they were believed to lead to something else prized by the community (for example, democracy). The Karmel Report expanded the need for both to be developed in relation to the school curriculum.

The Karmel Report discussed context and declared desirable values through its discussion and recommendations. These values were accepted by the South Australian Government and the Director General of Education was expected to implement curriculum consistent with those values.

The aims of the first document 'The Purposes of Schools' were in themselves value statements, and principles to guide the action of teachers.

When ultimately schools had a statement of purposes as a guide, and the support of the 'Freedom and Authority' memorandum, it became their task to translate the generalized aims into the language of curriculum and instructional strategies. The translation of aims into curriculum strategy was to complete the ends-means continuum sought after by many South Australian teachers. Many Principals and teachers found this task difficult.

The values of the Karmel Report had impacted on schooling to the degree that ten years later the Education Department was a significant provider of pre-school services; a separate Department of Further Education accepted wide responsibilities in the technical area significantly altering Education Department functions; teacher education

¹ Kaplan, Abraham, 1964, *op. cit.*, p. 393.

programmes had become the province of independent Colleges of Advanced Education; a Tertiary Education Committee had been formed to diversify post secondary education; School Councils had been established to advise Principals of the considered educational needs of the community; and teachers and schools had to be registered as a way of protecting students from inferior instruction.

9.3.The Interim Committee of the Australian Schools Commission.

By far the most significant intervention in education in South Australia, and the values it heeded, came from the establishment of the Interim Committee of the Australian Schools Commission.

Following the election of a new Commonwealth Labor Government in December 1972, an Interim Committee of the Australian Schools Commission was appointed. This committee chaired by Peter Karmel reported back as early as May 1973, with the Schools Commission being established in December that year.

The links between the Interim Committee and South Australia were quite close, and South Australia experienced little difficulty in working with the Commission. Professor Karmel had chaired the enquiry in South Australia three years earlier, and the major contributor in the writing of the two reports was Blackburn of South Australia. Jones, Director General in South Australia at that time, was another leading member. Hence many of the values, initiatives, and directions recommended by the committee were already in train in South Australia.

The terms of reference set up by the Commonwealth Government for the Interim Committee went beyond the addressing of the financial needs of schools to include areas where value systems were still emerging. In the Act relating to the establishment of the

Schools Commission, for example, the Commission was charged with *'providing increased and equal opportunities for education in government and non government schools'* and, in particular, in the exercise of its functions, it was to have regard to *'the needs of disadvantaged schools and of students of disadvantaged schools, and of other students suffering disadvantages in relation to education for social, economic, ethnic, geographic, cultural, lingual or similar reasons.'*¹

Many of the findings reflected the Karmel Report issued in South Australia several years earlier, and South Australia was in an excellent position to put the additional financial flow to good effect. As the South Australian Government had already adopted the values and recommendations of the Karmel Report, the South Australian Education Department became a leader in areas of education involving distance education, multiculturalism, women and girls, and parental involvement in schools.

The injection of Commonwealth funds during the years 1973 to 1980 helped implement and develop policies and practices in these value sensitive areas. The values and perspectives advanced by the Interim Committee of 1973 were developed and promulgated in the years that followed. The main stated values of the Interim Committee are summarized below:

1. *The devolution of responsibility to schools with less centralized control over the operation of schools;*
2. *equality, with attempts made to compensate to some extent through schooling for unequal out-of-school situations;*
3. *diversity in relation to a search for forms of learning and of relationships between teachers and pupils that are appropriate to social and individual needs.*

¹ Karmel, Peter H. 1973, op. cit, p. 3, and 'Schools Commission Act 1973' no. 213, p. 7.

4. *right of choice of parents to educate their children outside of government schools, and*
5. *community involvement in education through direct community participation in the governance of schools.*¹

The value system of the Karmel Report (1971) survived within these values established by the Interim Committee for the Commonwealth Schools Commission. They became central to curriculum policy development across Australia, and were supported through grants made directly to schools from Commonwealth resources.

The Keeves Report, (1981), in reflecting on the decade of education between 1970 and 1980 makes the following observation.

*South Australia, perhaps more than any other Australian State, has sought to translate the values and perspectives of the Interim Committee for the Commonwealth Schools Commission into policies and practices that have changed the ways in which schools within the state function.*²

9.4. New 'Realms of Meaning'.

The 1971 document relating to the purposes of schooling in South Australia took its lead from the Karmel Report. The Deputy Director General of Education, Steinle, used this as a starting point for his draft statement, which subsequently became policy. The Interim Schools Commission Report (1973), also chaired by Professor Peter Karmel, talked about values, and even though it differed very little from its South Australian predecessor, it was useful in allowing the Director General Jones to seek an updated version that would incorporate changing values. The amplified 1975 document³

¹ Karmel, Peter H. 1973, op.cit, pp. 10 - 15.

² Keeves, J.P. chairman, Feb, 1981, op. cit.

³ **The Purposes of Schools (Revised).** 1975, South Australian Education Department.

circulated to schools differed very little from the approved 1971 statement¹. It did however give greater priority to catering for individual differences amongst students, problem solving, and communication skills, but these were cosmetic in terms of the thrust of the document.

The 1981 revision of 'The Purposes of Schools' was limited by the values with the Karmel Report. Director General Steinle saw value in using the expertise within the education system to develop a new set of purposes, and approved a consultative approach to policy development.

The key curriculum author, Aston, in preparing an 'Amplification of the Purposes of Schools' (1978) used as a theoretical basis, the ideas contained in the book *Realms of Meaning*.² These ideas formed the basis of draft discussion documents.

*A complete person should be skilled in the use of speech, symbol and gesture, factually well informed, capable of creating and appreciating objects of aesthetic significance, endowed with a rich and disciplined life in relation to self and others, able to make wise decisions and to judge between right and wrong, and possessed of an integral out-look.*³

In his book, *Realms of Meaning*, Phenix attempted to propound a theory of curriculum for general education. At the beginning he stated the main line of his argument as follows.

*Human beings are essentially creatures who have the power to experience meanings. Distinctively, human existence consists in a pattern of meanings. Furthermore, general education is the process of engendering essential meanings.*⁴

¹ The Purposes of Schools. 1971, South Australian Education Department.

² Phenix, Philip H. 1964, op. cit.

³ *ibid*, p. 8.

⁴ *ibid*, p. 5.

Phenix then attempted to map logically the various realms of meaning. The six realms are briefly summarized below.

1. **Symbolics:** Ordinary language, mathematics, and various types of non discursive symbolic forms such as gestures, rituals, rhythmic patterns and the like.
2. **Empirics:** The sciences of the physical world, of living things, and of man.
3. **Aesthetics:** The various arts, such as music, the visual arts, the arts of movement and literature.
4. **Synoetics:** This embraced personal knowledge (Synoetics equalled relational insight, direct awareness).
5. **Ethics:** Moral meanings that expressed obligation rather than fact, perceptual form or awareness of relation.
6. **Synoptics:** Referred to meanings that were comprehensively integrating - included three major areas - history, religion, and philosophy.

Phenix believed that for a person to be genuinely educated involved exposure of an individual to the various realms of meaning in some form or forms at some stage or stages in the curriculum of general education.

The realms of meaning described by Phenix were incorporated in the 'Amplification of the Purposes of Schools' (1978) document. It raised a question about certain values such as the legitimate place for religion within the curriculum of general education. This became a variable discussed at some length by the steering committee in 1979, before it was finally rejected.

Subsequent drafts of the 'Amplification of the Purposes of Schools' document reflected more of the local context as perceived by people who were actors within school communities. The final product of the consultative processes, 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes', does not reflect the six key values of the Phenix model, though some of the structure of the curriculum areas remain. The consultative processes involving school personnel reinstated many of the values outlined in the Karmel Report (1971), and in the 'Schools in Australia: Interim Committee for the Australian Schools Commission' Report (1973).

During the period of this study, community values did change, and these changes were reflected in the documents produced. Values established by the Karmel Report in 1971 and incorporated in the early statements relating to the purposes of schooling gradually changed in response to new ideas, new approaches and structures, Commonwealth Government interventions in Education, changing resourcing levels, and the changing social context.

9.5.Values in the early 80s.

By 1980 notions of devolution of authority had brought about the establishment of ten educational regions in South Australia. The establishment of School Councils, with strong community involvement, and the delegation of responsibility for spending of monies to such councils, were in keeping with the principles of greater community involvement in education. The right of choice offered to parents relating to the type of schooling they desired was supported through government grants and the removal of school zoning, and major pre-school initiatives had helped address the major equality issue noted by the Interim Committee.

There was greater diversity in the provision of education than ever before to meet social and individual needs of pupils, and there was a far better understanding of value

issues relating to equality, diversity, multi-culturalism, and societal needs. As people endeavoured to address the values highlighted by the Karmel Report (1971), and the Report of the Interim Committee to the Schools Commission (1973), and to a lesser extent Phenix, ideas and approaches brought further improvements to student learning outcomes, sometimes modifying and improving the initial value stance.

A number of events also reflected changing values in society. The Women's Liberation Movement was making headway in South Australia, with abortion law reform, changes in family law, anti discrimination legislation, equal pay legislation, the promotion of non sexist books in schools, information services, and women's shelters all becoming realities. Women in positions of influence had at least analyzed their place in society, and socially constructed barriers to their full participation in society were breaking down.

1975 was designated International Women's Year. In South Australia this was the catalyst that provided the motivation to have legislated the Sex Discrimination Act. The following year this was followed by the appointment of advisers to South Australian Government Departments in an effort to reduce discrimination against women, and in 1977 the South Australian Education Department formed a Women's Advisory Unit. This unit became a significant focus for reform attempts within schools, and certainly made its values clear in the selection of curriculum materials. The Director General took the issue seriously, and in his annual report in 1978 highlighted equal opportunity needs of girls, and the need to make curriculum changes to accommodate them.

The South Australian Education Department, in response to government policy in equal opportunities, has recognized that positive efforts must be made in schools to extend the range of options which both sexes, but particularly girls, see

as open to them. Changes must begin to be made both to curriculum and school structures so that boys and girls will have equal opportunities in the future.¹

The battleground moved to the school, where it was felt that attitudes could be developed that would hasten changes in society. Feminist educators highlighted the disadvantage associated with femininity, and set out to eliminate it. By 1981, girls were officially recognized by the Education Department as disadvantaged and the policy document 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' included a statement recommending curriculum and time-tabling changes, as well as the redirecting of resources to achieve more equal outcomes for girls.²

South Australia lead the way in Australia in this area of curriculum policy changes. It was nearly a decade later before a national policy was developed which mirrored the South Australian developments of the late 1970s. The extract below, from the National policy (1987), demonstrates that South Australian thinking had focussed on the needs of women and girls some years before the issue gained national recognition in the form of policy.

In Australia and throughout the world, attention has focussed on the status of women generally, on the need to improve the conditions of their lives, and on the benefit of a society where women and men participate as equals in all aspects of economic, social and political life. Schools have a role and responsibility in contributing to the achievements of equality between the sexes and in improving the conditions of life for girls and women. All Australian schools should ensure that what is being taught and learned does justice to women, taking account of their cultural, language and socio-economic diversity, and is equally valuable for girls and boys.³

¹ The Annual Report of the Director General of Education South Australia. 1978, D.J. Woolman, Govt. Printer, p. 42.

² Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes. 1981, op. cit, p 30.

³ Commonwealth Schools Commission Policy for Girls. 1987, Preamble, Commonwealth Govt. Printer, p. 3.

While societal attitudes to women were undergoing changes, other equality issues came to the fore. Strategies were developed in South Australia to endeavour to overcome the disadvantages of Aborigines. These included the provision of greater finance to provide more adequate social services, a gradual re-definition of what schooling should be about for aboriginal people, the use of the vernacular language in tradition-oriented schools, the employment of aboriginal education workers and aboriginal school assistants, and the development of 'Aboriginal Studies' as a curriculum unit. Policy statements were adjusted to address the emerging value of 'equality for all people'.

Major efforts were made to ensure that aboriginal people were consulted about their education, and in 1978 the Minister of Education took the initiative to form the 'South Australian Aboriginal Education Consultative Committee.' Immediately special teacher training courses were introduced for Pitjantjatjara Aborigines, and curriculum was designed for all schools in the direction of Aboriginal Studies.

Values associated with multi-culturalism and evident in the Karmel Report, and the Report of the Interim Committee of the Australian Schools Commission, changed rapidly over the decade following, and three different forms of educational programmes emerged. Schools began to teach English as a second language, and schools were able to apply for additional teaching staff to allow this to occur. Community languages were also encouraged where teachers could be found to provide languages other than English to the dominant ethnic grouping within a school. Finally, schools were encouraged through advisers to reconstruct their curriculum to value the cultures of different ethnic or social groups in Australia.

The changes mentioned reflected the values articulated firstly in the Karmel Report, and refined in the Report of the Interim Committee of the Australian Schools Commission. New legislation was introduced and modified during the decade. The original concepts grew, and adjustments were made, until many of the original values

changed as society itself changed. By 1981, curriculum implications for South Australia were much clearer, and alongside of key policy documents such as 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes', other more detailed policy documents began to emerge, amplifying the values relating to such issues as equality, aboriginality, multi-culturalism, and women and girls in education.

Beyond the State context, the Commonwealth Schools Commission continued to pursue two major themes throughout the 1970s. Firstly, there was a focus on social equality through schooling (the promotion of more equal average scholastic attainment among groups in society and also equality of opportunity for all individuals). Secondly, the devolution of educational decision making to the level of the individual school in the context of the local community. Commonwealth funding to Primary and Secondary schools addressed these two themes.

The 1970s in South Australia had been a period of optimism where it was expected that schools would lead, improve and change society by taking its egalitarian values and applying them to the curriculum. Adults had seen education as the pathway for their children to social and economic advancement, but unfortunately optimism gave way to disillusionment. Blackburn says,

There is disillusionment with the whole educational enterprise, in which so many illusions have been invested. From a social point of view, it is now widely perceived that credentials escalation which displaces the less well-educated from the jobs they have been accustomed to occupy, replacing them with better educated applicants without changing the nature of the job itself, has little to recommend it.¹

As one outcome of disillusionment, professional educators were being challenged in what they were endeavouring to do. A new relationship between the education systems

¹ Blackburn, Jean. 1981, *Changing Educational emphases for the 1980s*, in *Education, Change and Society*, ed, Peter Karmel, Australian Council for Educational Research, p. 83.

and the polity seemed to be emerging, as the Australian public and the politicians were reticent to accept the role of funds allocations to professional educators without having a stake in the expenditure. There was a need for clearer policies and directions to accommodate changing attitudes, beliefs and values, and in negotiating consensus with governments and local communities. Blackburn continues,

They [schools] cannot longer talk about knowledge and understandings in terms of their intrinsic value, since it is now clear that such arguments have in fact operated as a means of justifying social hierarchies. Their new justifications must in some way relate knowledge more directly to action and practical activities, as well as to reflection and the pursuit of truth. What needs to be sought at a school level is a selection of knowledge, activities, and experiences useful in understanding and negotiating the world and in extending the range of potentially satisfying activities to which people have access in it.¹

Blackburn suggests that teachers holding this philosophy would move away from the curriculum smorgasbord approach from standard prescriptions, to a common commitment to building the intellectual and social resources which students took from school to support their efforts to negotiate their world more powerfully. Blackburn advocates an incremental approach that attempts to cope with the unequal and diverse society, and differing environments that students grow up in and inhabit as adults.²

At the Commonwealth Curriculum Development Centre in Canberra, a document was produced in June 1980 as a curriculum charter, called 'Core Curriculum for Australian Schools'. Soon after, South Australia produced its curriculum policy statement 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes', which became the charter for state schools in South Australia for the next decade. Both documents focused on providing principles and processes by which students learnt to cope with the socio-

¹ *ibid*, pp. 84-85.

² *loc. cit.*

cultural world in which they lived. Education was seen as a preparation for human activity as well as being part of life experience.¹

The public, and many educators in South Australia believed that public confidence in educational innovation and school based curriculum development would improve greatly if there were clearer guides for curriculum, incorporating a framework of basic, essential learnings for students, with a clear specification of the successful ways available for schools to organize such learning. Hence there was considerable interest in the 'Amplification of the Purposes of Schools Document' and its subsequent drafts leading eventually to the 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' statement.

This chapter has reflected how values accepted in the late 1960s became modified in the following decade. While some values recorded in Education Department documents were 'borrowed' from other systems, they became useful starting points for policy development, being modified over the period by contextual changes, political initiatives, and the priorities of individuals and stakeholders associated with policy developments. Changes were incremental, rather than dramatic, but followed the rhetoric of professional reformers, and the lead provided by the action of Governments.

Values suggested in the Karmel Reports of 1971 and 1973 in the areas of equal opportunity and social justice became rhetoric within the education system over the next decade. Chapter eight demonstrates that these issues received greater discussion in the South Australian Teachers' Journal than subject content, and movements to address issues relating to disabled, ethnic groups, handicapped children, and women and girls in education, were reflected in the major policy statement 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes'.

¹ Keeves, J.P. chairman, 1982, *op. cit*, p. 277.

Policy documentation generally provided a reflection on the changes occurring in society, rather than leading in such changes. As the context altered policies needed to be reviewed, and it became necessary for curriculum policies of the study period to be responsive to new directions. As policy statements became out of date, the need for the regular review of the purposes of schooling continued. Each policy iteration reflected the changes in values as they had occurred in society in the years preceding each review.

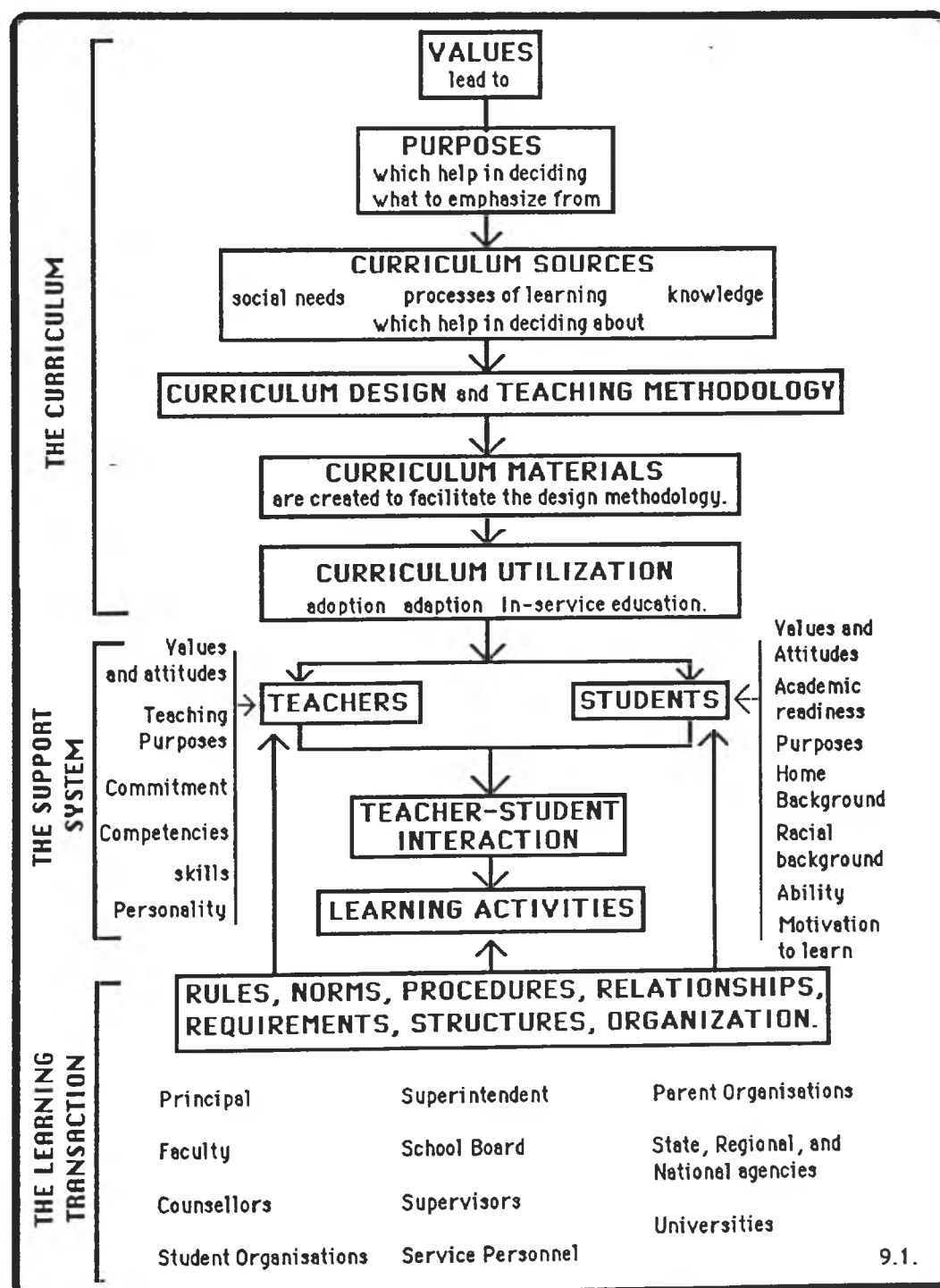


Diagram 9.1. after Fox, R, (1972),
'Innovation in Curriculum - an Overview', in Interchange Vol 2/3, 1972.

Chapter Ten: Research Conclusions and Study Implications:

The issue of the 'purposes of schooling' emerged and re-emerged throughout the period of study (1968 - 1985). Research identified four occasions where the issue demanded and received policy attention¹, and each of these have been discussed in the preceding four chapters. While some focus has been given to how and why the issue emerged in each case, this chapter aims at drawing more general conclusions that may be of value in understanding curriculum policy processes.

The study aimed at exploring the malleable variables evident in the curriculum policy developments as they emerged from purposes of schooling, to establishing the degree to which the policy making process was comprehensive as opposed to incremental in development, whether the sources of the policy agendas were internal or external, how these agendas were linked to social and political pressures, and whether the policy statements arising were outcomes of professional reformers, or an outcome of publicly perceived needs.

In addition, the study explored the extent to which the processes could be accounted by the theories relating to curriculum policy and public policy development as recorded in the literature.

This chapter endeavours to single out the key findings of the study.

¹ The following policy statements relating to the purposes of schools were produced and published by the South Australian Government Printer during the period of study. **The Purposes of Schools**, (1971); **The Purposes of Schools (Revised)**, (1975); **Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes**, (1981); **Into the 80s - Curriculum Authority and Responsibility: a Policy Statement for Government Schools**, (1985).

10.1. Curriculum Policy.

While 'curriculum' appeared to be a word 'for all seasons' in South Australia, meaning 'syllabus' or 'course' to some, or the total educational offerings of a school to others, it was officially defined at least from 1974 onwards in the following way.

'Curriculum' described all the learning which was planned and guided by the school, whether it was carried on in groups or individually, inside or outside the school.¹

More specifically, it was used to refer to an area of studies organized for a particular group of students, for example, 'the Junior Primary Curriculum', 'the Primary Curriculum', 'the Secondary Curriculum'. Terms such as 'English Curriculum', 'Science Curriculum', or 'Music Curriculum' were also used and divided to cover experiences over the years R-12, R-7, 8-12, or for a specific year in a particular subject².

In the official curriculum policy documents analyzed in this study, the word 'policy' was never clearly defined. The meaning of the term had to be determined from the context in which it was used.

Throughout the period of study, policies aimed at giving consistency to decision making. They were expected to govern action, but allow some individual discretion. Certainly they were never meant to be static.

Thus, to be consistent with the circulars, memoranda, and policy documents sent to schools from the South Australian Education Department, 'policy' was interpreted to mean 'a statement of intention, the reasons why such aims were seen as important, the

¹ Kerr, J, 1968, *Changing the Curriculum*, Unibooks, University of London, p. 16.

² R-7 indicates school years from reception to year 7, while R-12 indicates school years from reception to year 12. Children of 5 years of age were eligible to enter a reception class during the school year.

underlying assumptions or values supporting such aims, and an overview of the arrangements (plan) by which attempts were made to achieve objectives' ¹

Hence curriculum policies were seen to be those statements associated with establishing the learning intentions planned and guided by the school.

Using this as a basis of the study, the key statements relating to 'curriculum policy' for the period of study were identified. Of these 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' (1981) became the initial focus as the most comprehensive curriculum policy statement developed during the period of study.

Primary research revealed that the 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' (1981) document could not be treated in isolation, for the issues involved were not original, but constantly re-emerging, with the document being only one of a sequence of end points in a number of incremental policy developments. To understand the policy processes, it became necessary to investigate other curriculum policy statements such as the 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum', (1970)², 'The Purposes of Schools', (1971)³, 'The Purposes of Schools (Revised)' (1975)⁴, 'The Schools Curriculum 1' booklet (1976)⁵, and, 'Into the 80s - Curriculum Authority and Responsibility' document (1985)⁶.

¹ Steinle, J.R. 1985, Foreword to *Into the 80s - Curriculum Authority and Responsibility: a Policy Statement for Government Schools*, op. cit, p. 5.

² Jones, A.W, 1970, *Memorandum to Heads of Departmental Schools : Freedom and Authority in Schools*, August, S.A. Education Department.(full text Appendix 'L').

³ *The Purposes of Schools*, 1971, S.A. Education Department .

⁴ *The Purposes of Schools (Revised)*, 1975, S.Education Department (full text Appendix 'M').

⁵ *The Schools Curriculum 1*, 1976, A.B. James, Government Printer, South Australia.

⁶ *Into the 80s - Curriculum Authority and Responsibility: a Policy Statement for Government Schools*, 1985, Education Department of South Australia (full text Appendix 'P').

10.2. The Content and the Significance of the Policy Statements: Symbolism or Pragmatism?

Each key Education Department Curriculum statement developed through differing processes, and varied considerably in intent.

The 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum.' (1970), was written by the Director General of Education, Jones, and moved the locus of control of curriculum from the central bureaucracy to the Principals of schools.

As Chapter four established, the document was supported by the political climate of the day, the findings of the Karmel Report (1971), the rhetoric of professional reformers, and mirrored the direction of the curriculum reform movement in America during the previous decade. The intent of the 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum.' (1970) was real rather than symbolic, but Principals of schools were guarded in taking up the opportunities the document provided. They were understandably sceptical, as the previous Director General of Education, Walker, had used the oratory of freedom and professionalism, but had failed to provide the means by which it might occur. Indeed, his written circulars contradicted the freedom he espoused.

The first South Australian 'purposes of schools' statement was a one page document developed by the newly appointed Deputy Director General, Steinle, in 1971. The statement provided a policy framework for the earlier 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum'. Chapter four concluded that Steinle's statement emerged primarily to fulfil the recommendation of the Karmel Report. The statement enabled the Director General of Education to demonstrate to Government the parameters within which Principals and schools would operate. As such, its purpose was more symbolic than real. Evidence gained from discussion with key actors confirmed this.

Chapter five records that the 1975 rewrite of 'The Purposes of Schools' was partly politically inspired, and emerged in response to the new directions and changing values amplified in the national report on education produced in 1973¹. The curriculum policy document² made incremental changes to 'The Purposes of Schools' policy distributed in 1971. The policy process that lead to 'The Purposes of Schools' (1975) was not elaborate, as the statement was redrafted at a two day conference of Curriculum Directorate officers. While 'The Purposes of Schools' (1975) was expected to provide a framework for school based curriculum development, schools found it too brief and vague to be particularly helpful.

'The Purposes of Schools' (revised, 1975) was clearly influenced by the Report of the Interim Committee for the Australian Schools (1973) and the moves towards the establishment of a National Core curriculum - a move which was curtailed by a change in Federal Government.

In 1977 the new Director General of the South Australian Education Department, Steinle, wanted to see a revision of the policy statement relating to the purposes of schools. He had been the author of the 1971 version, which had promoted very little curriculum activity at a school level, but the experience gained gave him a belief that articulating purposes was valuable in goal setting, particularly at a time when political interest in the outcomes of schooling was growing. The previous document had a R-7 focus. This was an opportunity to match purposes with the new organizational structure based on functional lines, and hence the revised document was planned to cover the R-12 range.

¹ Karmel, Peter H, chairperson, 1973, *op. cit.*

² Appendix 'M'

Director General Steinle was aware that the politicians were concerned about the 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum' giving curriculum control to school Principals. To satisfy them, it was necessary to create a structure that would allow the Director General of Education to report more accurately to government on the state of the curriculum and the activities of schools. Politicians were looking towards introducing programme performance budgeting, and there was a perceived threat that if the Liberal Party gained power, the Minister of Education might assume control of the curriculum. Thus a manifesto outlining purposes would meet a number of political needs.

Schools too were seeking a greater level of prescription. For the most part, they had failed to grasp the full implications and opportunities that had emerged from the 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum', and many felt insecure, and sought guidance.

Principal Education Officers, whose very role had been threatened by their decreased involvement in curriculum matters following the 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum', were anxious to regain some of their former inspectorial powers, and saw the development of a curriculum policy statement ('Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes') as an opportunity to put 'teeth' back into the system. They supported the initiatives that appeared to be emanating from the Curriculum Directorate to establish a broad based Steering Committee which would provide a clear statement of ends and means of developing school based curriculum.

When the matter of school based curriculum policy development was raised as an agenda item at the 1978 'Central Office and Regional Directors' conference, it was well received. The Director of Curriculum, O'Brien, was asked to organise that 'The Purposes of Schools' (1975) document be amplified to clearly spell out the objectives of schooling, and how these objectives were to be met. The new document was to be produced through the Curriculum Directorate in the form of a follow-up document which would help schools plan and select curricula, and adopt suitable teaching methods.

In chapter seven it was concluded that the 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' document grew from influences commencing in the preceding decade, and which continued into the mid 1980s.

Steinle, in the foreword to the 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes'¹ document provided a background statement and a brief overview of this policy document.

Many of us who are concerned with education recognised that the 1971 Purposes of Schools statement needed to be reviewed, updated and expanded. 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' is the culmination of an extensive cooperative and consultative venture in educational policy development.

This document contains not only general statements of aims and purposes, but also guide-lines for the development of school programmes. It contains policy statements which clearly indicate the educational framework within which the government schools will operate in the coming years.

The intention is to provide an appropriate balance between central direction and local needs. The policy statements allow for schools to interpret and develop programmes which meet individual needs....

The 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' document clearly had both symbolic and real purposes. It described for each school community the direction of the Education Department for the 1980s, suggesting that its structure ' would serve as a basis for educational policies and practices.' ² It promised that ' a number of resource papers would be issued from time to time to assist schools' ³, and stated that the ' document was intended primarily for those who plan and administer educational programmes' ⁴ The

¹ Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes, 1981, op. cit.

² *ibid*, p. 7.

³ *ibid*, p. 9.

⁴ *ibid*, p. 8.

document acknowledged in its introduction¹ that 'respondents had emphasised that a curriculum framework was needed', but on page 36 referred readers to another supposedly existing document called 'Curriculum Authority and Responsibility in Government Schools' for that guidance. More importantly, it made clear that school developed curricula would now require systems approval, and the approval mechanism could be found in this support document.

Only a handful of resource documents were ever published to support 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes', though many drafts of others exist in the South Australian Education Department archives. The 'Authority and Responsibility' paper just referred to, and designed to give structure leading to the approval process, was finally printed some four years later in 1985. Thus, hindsight clearly confirms that the main purpose of the 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' document was symbolic, as energy for the implementation phase was singularly lacking - at least within the Curriculum Directorate.

The 'top-down' 'Into the 80s - Curriculum Authority and Responsibility' document was reliant for successful implementation on the energy of individual Principal Education Officers, and the school Principals in their field groups. The districts progressed in carrying out the policies of 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' at very different rates. The Director General's implementation schedule slipped well behind a stated circular sent to schools seeking curriculum statements from all schools by the end of 1985.

The final document explored as part of this study in Chapter Seven ('Into the 80s - Curriculum Authority and Responsibility') emerged to assist schools in their interpretation of 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes'. The 'Curriculum

1 *ibid*, p. 7.

Authority and Responsibility' text outlined legal responsibilities, and lines of authority within the Education System for curriculum development, and provided a structural statement as to the elements of a school curriculum plan for Principals and Schools to use. While functional in intent, it was difficult to interpret, and arrived too late to be useful for many schools who had chosen to develop their own curriculum plans using the expertise of their school and district personnel. Many schools had been waiting for a statement of 'means' since 1975, while others had sought greater prescription since 1970.

The committee processes in the development of the 'Curriculum Authority and Responsibility' document were disjointed and unproductive. There was a conflict of beliefs about the purposes of such a document and the need for it, as well as a general lack of application from the committee members. Most officers assigned were Curriculum Directorate officers who were not involved with the parent document. The result was similar to the 1971 committee experience, where the task was taken away from a committee and given to the Deputy Director General, Steinle, to complete urgently. The 'Into the 80s - Curriculum Authority and Responsibility' committee failed to achieve a document that would provide a framework for schools to use in curriculum development, or meet political expectations. The Deputy Director General of Education, Giles, took the task from the committee, and personally developed the final document. The document was given approval by the Education Department policy committee, and finally published in 1985 under the title 'Into the 80s - Curriculum Authority and Responsibility'.

While called a policy document on its front cover, 'Into the 80s - Curriculum Authority and Responsibility' was an adjunct to its parent document 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes', and the two must be considered together in establishing policy intent. They represented a retreat from the 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum' era, putting in place the mechanisms for far greater control of curriculum in schools, implying a far greater accountability to the system, and indirectly to the Government of

the day. It stated clearly that all curriculum taught in schools had to be approved, and spelt out the necessary documentation to be provided by schools for that approval to be given. While its purposes were pragmatic, implementation was generally slow, and as previously noted, solely dependent on the energy of officers and Principals in each of the school districts.

In summary, the curriculum policy documents of the period had different reasons for their existence. While declared as having pragmatic purposes, documents were in the main 'ends' only policies, rather than 'ends and means' as sought by schools. Each policy plan appeared to be more effective as an interpretation of past decisions than as a programme or plan for the future. As such, their greatest attribute became their symbolic use as declarations of the activities of South Australia Education Department, though schools were expected to act on the policies expounded, and develop their own curriculum within these parameters.

March¹ says that '*A plan can often be more effective as an interpretation of past decisions, than as a programme for future ones.*' This observation is particularly relevant to 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' document, which clearly has a symbolic purpose. It is a snapshot of an ideal society and its key beliefs, as established by reflecting on the 1970s.

10.3. Who Controlled the Curriculum?

The series of documents were not only statements of purposes of schooling, but statements about who controlled the curriculum. Until 1970, the South Australian Education Department controlled it quite rigidly, but in one brief Memorandum in 1970. The Director General, Jones had given that role to school Principals. This move had political support at the time but it was slowly eroded over the next decade. The 1971 'The

¹ March, J.G. 1972, *op. cit.*, p. 427.

Purposes of Schools' document set parameters for Principals and schools in their new curriculum roles. This document was modified and upgraded in 1975 as a result of the changing national context, but changes were incremental rather than comprehensive.

The late 1970s saw the beginning of an economic recession in South Australia, and with the increasing percentages of unemployed school leavers and low productivity influencing the economics of the state, there appeared to be a need to further constrain the curriculum to ensure the productivity of the State of South Australia. Uncontrolled school developed curriculum was not only expensive, but it made it difficult for Government to match schooling with employment needs. The perception of a new Liberal Government wanting to control curriculum hastened the final production of 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes', which became a public declaration of the curriculum activities of South Australian schools, declaring eight curriculum areas of study, four priorities for schools to address, and twelve expectations in relation to schooling outcomes.

The final document, 'Into the 80s - Curriculum Authority and Responsibility', though slow in development, built in a series of checks on schools, declaring that all curriculum must be approved, and must conform to a curriculum plan. The elements of that plan were prescribed. This change of direction was supposedly the 'appropriate balance between central direction and school needs' described by John Steinle in the parent document 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes'.

Thus, during the period of study, curriculum control had moved from the system to schools in 1970. In the decade that followed, parameters were established to guide Principals in their approach to curriculum, but the system was free of checks and relied entirely on the professionalism of the teachers within the system. The 1980s established in more detail the purposes of schooling, culminating in a system of checks that would

allow greater systems control than had occurred in the previous decade. By 1985, the authority necessary to constrain school curriculum development had been reinstated.

While curriculum development processes were far more democratic than the late 1960s, allowing for schools to develop courses responsive to local needs, the mechanism was again in place to hold schools accountable for their curriculum initiatives. The 'Into the 80s - Curriculum Authority and Responsibility' proved to be as symbolic as its parent document, for experiences beyond the period of study suggest that while the written policy statement described processes of curriculum approval, many schools have ignored the statements without consequences¹.

A further discussion occurs later in this chapter relating to the internal politics and the control of the policy making processes and outcomes by individual policy actors.

10.4. The Literature and Policy Processes.

As very little literature existed relating directly to system wide curriculum policy developments in education, the literature search focused on 'public policy as it related to the study', and on 'the purposes of schooling' as they impinged on curriculum choices.

In comparing the curriculum policy development processes of the South Australian Education Department with processes of public policy development, it was discovered that each of the policy documents under consideration were clearly characterized by incrementalism as is described by the policy analyst Elboim - Dror (1970)², and which

¹ The author, as one participant responsible for the field implementation of the 'Into the 80s - Curriculum Authority and Responsibility' is aware of many schools who have not followed the 1985 policy, and have done so without censure. Concerns about the effectiveness of the 'Into the 80s - Curriculum Authority and Responsibility' document have brought about its review in 1990 as a priority for the newly formed 'Education Review Unit' in the South Australian Education Department.

² Elboim - Dror, R, 1970, *op. cit*, p. 247.

has been described earlier by Charles Lindblom (1959)¹. The difficulty of establishing tangible goals that would meet the full spectrum of beliefs about the purposes of schools in such a large organization made this incrementalism inevitable.

A 'decision filter'² when applied to issues concerning the purposes of schools, confirms the incrementalist approach as an appropriate model of policy development for South Australia. Certainly the issues were broad, value laden and politicised, and as such, unsuited to synoptical approaches to policy development. By the time discourse commenced on the 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' (1981) document, a number of fixed positions had already been determined by earlier policy statements, making incremental approaches more likely to be successful.

Elboim-Dror³ comments that such '*decision making can thus be described as a tradition bound slow sequence of incremental changes with sudden inspirational jumps when a crisis arises*'. Boyd⁴ notes that in the American system the effectiveness of the local control principle has been weakened by '*the remarkable recent growth of the influence of the state and national agencies over the curriculum*'. In South Australia there were some fears, when the South Australian Liberal Government achieved power in 1981, that the Minister of Education would assume some control of the curriculum unless there were observable evidence of reasonable controls and sanctions. The Director General of Education was anxious to preserve his legislated responsibility for curriculum, and hence an element of crisis emerged that truncated the consultative curriculum processes to produce the final 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' document. The final statement was printed in glossy format, and presented publicly with

¹ Lindblom, C.E, 1959, op cit, p. 79.

² Hogwood, B.W. & Gunn, L.A, 1984, op. cit, pp. 104 -106.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Boyd, W.L, 1978, op. cit, p. 579

'pomp and ceremony' to the Minister of Education as the Director General's statement of curriculum policy for the State of South Australia. Lindblom describes such a hastened outcome truncating the democratic processes as an 'Inspirational jump'.

When committees also failed to meet production deadlines in 1971 and 1985, democratic processes were replaced by the expedience of a single author, to bring about the 'inspirational jump' required to meet both the internal and external political needs.

Kirst and Walker¹ suggest that disjointed incrementalism - a phenomenon described by Braybrooke and Lindblom - characterize curriculum policy making in educational organizations. Disjointed incrementalism involves examining policies that differ from each other incrementally, and which differ incrementally from the status quo. They allow for the '*acceptance of the broad outlines of the existing situation with marginal changes contemplated*'. Decisions made, and documented discussions in the various consultative stages of policy developments confirmed this as the key method of approach in South Australia - a matter demonstrated by interviews with the policy actors between 1968 and 1985. The minutes of the Steering Committee or reference committee for the 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' production show the serial nature of discussions and piecemeal modifications to sections, rather than a single comprehensive approach to the problem.

Boyd², one of the few writers to investigate broad curriculum policy (as opposed to subject specific) directions in education, contends that the very nature of curriculum policy making is political, for political science focuses on '*who gets what, when, and how*'.³ Boyd contends that an education system, and ultimately curriculum policies,

1 Kirst, M.F. & Walker, D.F, 1971, op. cit, p. 485.

2 Boyd, William L, 1978, op. cit, pp. 577-628.

3 Laswell, H, 1936, as in Boyd, William L, 1978, op. cit, pp. 577-628.

always proceed from some model of what a human being (and hence society) ought to be like. Certainly this was the key focus of the major document of the period of study, 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes', which reflects the value systems of professional reformers involved in the National Karmel enquiry (1973), the influence of individuals closely associated with this enquiry, and the Karmel Report (1971).

A literature search of ideologies associated with the purposes of schooling reveals two distinct and contrasting approaches to education. Ideas or goals such as 'Education for Life', 'child-centred education', and 'the Integrated Curriculum' are seen to be progressive in outlook, just as 'academic excellence' and 'the maintenance of standards' are categorized as idealist in nature. The South Australian Education Department, while endeavouring to meet a range of expectancies about education, lent towards the progressive outlook, with selected policy makers, for the main, holding moderate philosophies. The process of only selecting policy writers and Steering Committee members who held similar values (or values marginally different) to the Superintendent of Education responsible for the project, to develop the 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' document, ensured that problems of wide ranging philosophies (as occurred in 1971) would not arise. The reformers chosen in the late 1970s, for the main part held progressive ideals and had egalitarian beliefs.

The final document of the study, 'Into the 80s - Curriculum Authority and Responsibility', took on a more idealist approach, particularly as the community demanded standards of excellence. Times of economic constraint, falling enrolments, and perceived declining standards meant that more idealistic approaches were more politically palatable.

With the exception of the initial selection of leadership to develop the 1971 'The Purposes of Schools' document, the study revealed, that policy developers were chosen that were likely to produce incremental rather than radical changes. People involved with

beliefs about education inconsistent or incompatible with the theme that the major purposes of schooling were for stability within society, were simply not selected on Steering Committees. This was confirmed by interviewing participants at the time, and people such as Aston and Smallacombe who were responsible for choosing the 1978 Steering Committee.

This approach to policy development produced outcomes that were departures from the intent of the largest group of stakeholders, namely school based people. People in schools were looking for policies which described end points for schooling, and provided the means to achieve them. The consultative processes emerging in the mid 1970s and continuing into the next decade gave them hope that this would occur, but the key 1981 document, like its predecessors, said 'what' and not 'how'. The Steering Committee formed in 1978 to amplify the purposes of schools, while initially enthusiastic about developing a framework of value to schools, eventually resorted to 'satisficing' behaviour, that focused on producing a more symbolic document for public display. Certainly, the final draft, which was beyond the control of the Steering Committee, reinforced the compromise approaches, by adding priorities that would have public and political acceptance.

Boyd¹ notes that the doctrine suggesting that the professional educators should shape curriculum was seen to be inadequate in an increasingly urbanized and pluralistic society. With the forces of pluralism, animated by the clash of local and 'sacred' values with cosmopolitan and 'secular' values being advocated, and sometimes imposed from the state and national levels, Boyd writes that *'the 'constitutional convention' on the purposes and curriculum of the public schools continued in earnest, but without the advantages of the common forum and realities of a real convention.'*² He concludes that

1 Boyd, W.L, 1978, op. cit, p. 579.

2 *ibid*, p. 581.

there is a need to focus on the political problems created for curriculum policy makers by the simultaneous need for the school to maintain society, while responding to pressures for societal change. There is no doubt that these policy tensions were very real to the Steering Committee responsible for the drafts of the 'Into the 80s - Our schools and Their Purposes' 1981 document. Considerable time was spent in debating the need for including statements of equity, transition education, technology, and second languages, the outcome being lengthy delays in the production of a final product which many teachers saw as bland, with those interpreting policies able to justify almost any new curriculum initiative. The policy document was inclusive in nature, and not exclusive as many school personnel had hoped. A more egalitarian approach had pushed the choice of curriculum to the school level.

The consultative model used in the preparation of drafts for 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes', resembles the loosely coupled model described by Weick in 1976¹. In this model he recognizes that control and co-ordination is not always as rational and efficient as a bureaucratic model requires. The model injects the idea of fluidity, rather than rigidity, and acknowledges that goals are sometimes ill-defined and variable, as are the means of achieving them.

The loosely coupled model predicates flexible interaction between the component parts of an organization. In South Australia this was a characteristic of the ways in which teachers operated within schools, schools functioned in a regional and state structure, and regions functioned in relation to the central administration. In a small state system such as South Australia, this was a preferable model to that of centralized bureaucratic control advocated by some other theorists.

¹ Weick, K, 1976, *op. cit*, pp. 1-19.

Loose coupling existed between the various stakeholder groups, and between individual members of each group of stakeholders. The highly participatory model used to construct drafts of 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' created some uncertainty and potential conflict, as different players brought different agendas to the task. Teachers reporting to the Steering Committee wanted a statement of clear goals and the means to achieve them, Principal Education Officers wanted to regain some lost control of curriculum issues in schools, and the Director of Curriculum wanted a manifesto for political purposes that would clearly guide curriculum direction for the next decade. Within the groups themselves there was the potential for further conflict, but the loose coupling allowed 'stand-offs' to be avoided.

10.5. Agenda Setting.

This study began the closer analysis of malleable forces in action, using as its basis the framework of analysis developed by Hogwood and Gunn¹. In particular, it traced through the issue of the purposes of schooling, identifying the reasons for its emergence and re-emergence as an area for policy activity between 1968 and 1985.

The framework involves both description and prescription. It incorporates agenda setting, issue filtration, and issue definition in establishing reasons for policy forces to operate. In their analysis of the policy process, they suggest that an issue is most likely to arise and become an agenda item, if the issue reaches crisis proportions, exemplifies larger issues, has an emotive aspect, is likely to have a wide impact, raises questions about power and legitimacy in society, or is fashionable in some way.

The study looked at the context and demonstrated that in the case of each curriculum policy document produced, some or all of these conditions prevailed, and were instrumental in bringing about policy changes albeit most were incremental in

¹ Hogwood and Gunn, 1984, *op cit*, p. 68.

nature. While the previous chapters discuss the emergence of each policy revision in some detail, the following summarises the main themes for each.

Why did the 'The Freedom and Authority Memorandum' get written? Firstly, the document was timely. The rhetoric of the previous Director General of Education, (Walker), was consistent with world-wide trends in education to devolve authority and responsibility directly to schools, giving them freedom to make decisions and the authority to carry them out. This rhetoric was matched by the emphasis of the Karmel Report. Jones had been privy to discussions with Karmel, and could anticipate the direction of the review report with some confidence. In addition, the new government in power gave the portfolio of Education Minister to Hudson, who was committed to 'encourage innovation, flexibility, and open discussion'. Jones and Hudson had inherited a system that was rigid and status conscious, where they saw a need for sensitive support rather than prescription and demand. The mood of schools, Government, and the Director General Jones thus created the climate to involve the schools far more extensively in the decision-making processes, and to delegate responsibility much more widely.

Director General Jones had the support of the Minister of Education, a Teachers' Institute seeking greater autonomy and professionalism at a school level, and a belief and trust in the members of his organization. He had the reassurance of the Karmel Report, the support of popular academic rhetoric of the day, and some indication of possible Commonwealth directions. Ideas of trust, professionalism, and responsibility were put into action through the 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum'. Further, Jones, as new Director General of Education, was eager to have impact, and this opportunity was central to his own democratic principles.

Thus each of the conditions which Hogwood and Gunn describes as desirable for an item to emerge as a priority on the policy agenda were present, with the exception of

crisis. The dimensions of particularity, emotion, and impact were particularly strong, and Jones took an aggressive stance to achieve new policy direction. It was the one hundredth year of South Australian Education Department history, and this document was to be a landmark. Analysis would suggest it was.

The 1971 'The Purposes of Schools' document was 'fashionable'. Systems around the world had articulated their beliefs about their purposes, and the Karmel Report (1971) had recorded this as a major recommendation. Cabinet approved the Karmel Report, and as such, it was expected that the Director General would implement the outcomes. Further, it would be a useful adjunct to the 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum', as it would provide structure to the work of schools, and give legitimacy to their efforts. It also set the limits of their power. Thus the conditions described by Hogwood and Gunn as necessary for the matter to be an agenda item were again in place.

The 1975 revision emerged from what was seen as a crisis in education. In the report of the Interim Committee for the Australian Schools Commission, (1973), two clear issues emerged. They were the need for schools to give far greater attention to literacy and numeracy, and the need to establish greater equity in schooling. Jones described this as the 'new testament', and allowed this to be the catalyst to allow 'The Purposes of Schools' document to be expanded and revised.

The reasons for the emergence of the issues again to bring about the 'Into the 80s, Our Schools and Their Purposes' document have already been canvassed in summary form in this chapter, with its offspring 'Into the 80s - Curriculum Authority and Responsibility' arising from the contents of the parent document. Schools sought a statement of both 'ends' and 'means' in curriculum development, the new Director of Curriculum needed a real task for his Directorate, the Government needed a clear statement of purposes as it moved into programme performance budgeting, Principal Education Officers wanted reinstatement in the curriculum processes of schools, and the

exercise was seen as an exercise in professional reform. Thus, the aspects of crisis, particularity, emotion, power, and legitimacy were all present, making consistent the curriculum policy agenda setting within the South Australian Education Department with the thesis of Hogwood and Gunn.

As part of the study, the questions established by Hogwood and Gunn to explore issue filtration were used to determine the appropriateness of the curriculum policy development methods used by the South Australian Education Department. As the 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' document was the most comprehensive approach to develop a statement on the purposes of schools, its methodology was closely appraised.

The actual steps towards decision making included many aspects of 'descriptive models' of policy making. Real endeavours were made to see some sort of pattern or shape in the world as it was, particularly as viewed by participants. However, no particular process model was used, with the planning ideas coming from Aston and Smallacombe, both of whom had recently completed tertiary curriculum studies.

In developing 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes', there were reasons why rational comprehensive or synoptic approaches were not used. Firstly, the scope of the major issue of the 'purposes of schools' meant that the psychological limitations on the curriculum writers and the Steering Committee were substantial, for the range of beliefs and ideas to be accommodated exceeded the capacity of policy developers to analyze in detail.

Secondly, there were further limitations arising from the multiple values within society. As problems and issues perceived are reflections of values brought to the problem by the policy actors, in a large bureaucracy such as an Education Department agreed values would have been difficult to attain. Further, collective rationality also

demands consideration of the perceived organizational and political priorities of the day, and these values were evolving rather than clearly articulated.

Thirdly, limitations to a rational approach in curriculum policy decision making was vested in the nature of the size of the Education Department itself and the specialization of function of individuals within it. It was very difficult to have a complete overview of all curriculum content and directions across the R-12 range of schooling.

Fourthly, the 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' document was to be produced within the Curriculum Directorate, without the provision of additional human or financial resources necessary to develop a completely rational approach,.

Fifthly, there were situational limitations, as the process could not be totally rational as described in ideal models, for schools were already using existing policy statements. People already had preconceived attitudes which made partisan mutual adjustment more likely.

The curriculum policy method used since the 1971 statement of purposes of schools was that of partisan mutual adjustment, disjointed incrementalism and successive limited comparisons. Wherever issues appeared unsuited to a rational comprehensive analysis of values, objectives, options, and consequences, this became part of the normal decision making processes being used within the Education Department. These key concepts are consistent with the incrementalist descriptive and prescriptive model of decision making which formed the process approach to develop 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes'.

In a process where values, beliefs, and past policies were important, the process was necessarily slow, and the committee approach to curriculum policy development was overtaken by crisis and the need to establish a product. Thus the influence of one or

two individuals, and the political need for an unequivocal statement of direction, flavoured the final outcomes.

The policy development investigated had very little theoretical research basis though recent curriculum studies undertaken by several key actors had influenced the process. Rather, progress appeared contingent on the people involved, and their beliefs about society. The informal structures often became more important in the policy development than the formal structure under scrutiny, and some significant political and individual interventions in the final stages over-rode the developmental processes carried out by committees.

10.6. Politically Motivated Policy Development, or the Work of Professional Reformers of Policy? Internal Politics and Individual Influences on Policy Design.

Policy processes were not the same throughout the study period, and the context in which policies were made was also dynamic.

While the charted processes showed a large number of pathways associated with policy development, and a comprehensive set of checks and balances, in practice several key people controlled the action. From 1978 to 1985 the Director of Curriculum, O'Brien, chaired the Advisory Curriculum Board, the Curriculum Coordinating Committee, the Curriculum Directorate meetings, and was a member of CORD Conference¹ and the Policy Committee. Hence he became the chief gatekeeper in curriculum policy management, for he held the information groups required, and could delay or hasten projects through the release or non-release of information. In interview he even described himself as the band-master - an apt description of his control of the 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' project.

¹ CORD is an acronym for 'Central Office and Regional Directors' meetings.

In a similar way, in 1978, Smallacombe, coordinator of the Steering Committee selected to assist in the amplification of 'The Purposes of Schools' (1975), was in a strong position of influence. He chose the membership of the group and the curriculum writers for O'Brien to approve, and controlled their activities. He was a key member of the Curriculum Coordinating Committee, attended Curriculum Directorate Meetings, was a member of CORD Conference, and was given freedom in the development of documentation.

The Minister of Education's arm of influence was the Advisory Curriculum Board. It was a responsive group rather than a pro-active one, and was dominated by officers from the Curriculum Directorate. O'Brien, as chairperson, set the agenda, and hence the Board was rarely involved in matters until drafts were ready for publication.

The Curriculum Coordinating Committee formed within the Directorate carried the real action. It was chaired by O'Brien, and became directly responsible to the Director General for the curriculum planning of the Education Department.

The Director of Curriculum used this committee as a management tool - to delay or resequence publications, and to monitor methodology and content. More importantly from this study's point of view it provided advice through R. Smallacombe to the writers of 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes'.

With the development of 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' significant interventions of the Advisory Curriculum Board and the Education Department Policy Committee were made at the concluding stages of the policy process with alterations being made to the final drafts before they went to the printer. While the authors had felt that they were free from political interference, rather clearly political purposes were met through intervention prior to the printing of the policy. O'Brien,

during interview, made it clear that the document was to stand up to public scrutiny, while at the same time directing schools as to where to begin on curriculum matters.

At the recommendation of the Advisory Curriculum Board, 'Literacy and Numeracy' became a priority for education in South Australia, whereas the policy authors these topics had been included adequately under the banner of 'communication skills'. At a time when schooling was coming under criticism for failing in the 'basics' this political intervention was understandable.

As there was a possibility of attracting Commonwealth money for transition programmes, the Advisory Curriculum Board also recommended that transition education be added as a curriculum area in the 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' document. This occurred, even though the Steering Committee had debated and rejected this issue at a much earlier stage.

The tone of the document changed significantly with a brief statement that all school based curriculum developments must be approved, which was a significant departure from the 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum' of some years earlier. This statement was not included in drafts by the Steering Committee.

To reduce printing costs, the document planned in two parts was amalgamated into one. The resultant document omitted portions that would have assisted schools by providing structure for their planning.

The text was also altered to include a reference to the existence of a further document which did not exist at the time, called 'Curriculum Authority and Responsibility'.

Thus, a seemingly democratic process of incremental change was very much controlled by a few influential individuals (professional reformers) who either served on a number of committees, or acted as gatekeepers controlling the information flow.

In summary, policy development between 1978 and 1981 was actually achieved in two stages. Firstly there was a democratic and consultative stages where the teachers and schools were invited to contribute by reacting to a series of draft documents. Secondly there followed a political stage, when other stakeholders reacted to the drafts and saw that their purposes were achieved within the completed policy. Smallacombe was essential to the first stage, and O'Brien the second.

The 'Into the 80s -Our Schools and Their Purposes' policy document represented a framework for school based curriculum development which was best described as 'progressive', with its focus on processes and not product. While the policy development appeared to be widely consultative, the demands of schools for greater prescription and for suggestions to achieve declared aims and objectives were largely ignored.

The influence of key individuals and political expedience proved just as compelling as the seemingly democratic and consultative processes. While the study did not find any evidence that individuals took actions from the motivation of furthering their own careers, a phenomena described by Boyd in considering the use of power, it did find that 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' reflected the beliefs of two key officers.

10.7. Competing Ideologies - a Question of values?

The question of 'values', being a malleable variable, and associated with the purposes of schooling, became an issue for further analysis. The study identified those value systems that actually influenced policies developed between 1968 and 1985, and looked at the nature of their influence.

In making recommendations to the South Australian Government, the Karmel Report clearly gives the impression that the heart of any satisfactory educational programme consists of those basic values that give meaning to the purposes, plans, and activities of schools and scholars.¹ The report strongly recommends the development of a statement of purposes, which clearly articulates the values of the South Australian education system.

The Karmel Report identifies three key purposes of schools. Some of these purposes are related to preparation for employment. Others are concerned with the preparation of scholars who would themselves add to knowledge and to practice and become in their turn responsible for the further development and transmission of their special fields of competence. Still others are related to the satisfaction of personal interests. The Karmel Report considers each of these in the social context in which schools operates, and develops implications for schools. These values became the basis of the 1971 'The Purposes of Schools' document.

The Karmel Report was quite 'pragmatic' in terms of value theory, and the Karmel committee had a vision of students joining society as a mature citizens with several separate but related skills. These include those associated with vocation, those associated with the person's membership of groups within the community (citizenship), and those relating to personal interests. Schooling, according to the Karmel Report, should make such purposes more directly attainable.

The values of the Karmel Report were not developed from the South Australian context. Rather, they had been taken from the aims of a document developed for the Pennsylvania system. Nevertheless, they reflected the direction the Karmel committee envisaged for the state of South Australia, and became the key resource in the

¹ Karmel, Peter, H, chairperson, 1971, *op. cit*, p. 2 and pp. 541-542.

development of the 1971 'The Purposes of Schools'. Beyond that, they tended to retreat into the background, as subsequent drafts moved on from the original declaration of values to incorporate values held by key individuals involved in the policy formulation.

Values discussed in developments associated with 'The Schools Curriculum 1' and 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' were influenced by other curriculum theorists. Aston, the key curriculum writer, used as a basis for the first draft of 'The Amplification of the Purposes of Schools' the ideas expressed by Phenix, in his book, *Realms of Meaning*.

A complete person should be skilled in the use of speech, symbol and gesture, factually well informed, capable of creating and appreciating objects of aesthetic significance, endowed with a rich and disciplined life in relation to self and others, able to make wise decisions and to judge between right and wrong, and possessed of an integral out-look.¹

As various iterations were produced, values of actors on the Steering Committee for the development of 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' caused the significance of the values articulated by Phenix to fade.

The Interim Committee for the Commonwealth Schools Commission also made a statement about values, and these were considered in the first review of 'The Purposes of Schools' document in 1975. As the emergent curriculum policy document is similar to the original, and the Interim Committees document was similar to the South Australian Karmel report, it is difficult to determine the level of influence of the national report. Interviews conducted suggest that these values received very little discussion, even though the need and reason to update 'The Purposes of Schools' (1971) policy document was declared by the Director General of Education in terms of the Commonwealth Schools Commission Report. It should be noted here that the key members of the South

¹ Phenix, Philip H, 1964, *op. cit.*

Australian, Karmel Committee, who established values which were important to 'The Purposes of Schools' (1971) document, were also central to the Interim Committee for the Australian Schools Commission (1973), and took with them all the values already declared in the South Australian Report.

By far the most significant intervention in education in South Australia, and the values it heeded, came from the entry of the Commonwealth Government into financing specific initiatives, and in the governance of those initiatives.

The Commonwealth focused finance and effort on increased and equal opportunities for all students, and the needs of disadvantaged schools and of students in disadvantaged schools. Finance was directed at other students suffering disadvantages in relation to education for social, economic, ethnic, geographic, cultural, or lingual reasons.

Key Commonwealth values which emerged during the mid 1970s from the Report of Interim Committee for the Australian Schools Commission, became the devolution of responsibility to schools, equality and compensatory education, diversity in relation to a search for alternative forms of learning, the right of choice of parents to educate their children outside of government schools, and community involvement in the activities of schools. The values of the 1970s articulated by the Commonwealth Schools Commission and associated with public schooling were reflected as 'Expectations' in the 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' document published in 1981.

In the years immediately preceding the publication of 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' a number of key initiatives within the state of South Australia reflected changing values in society. The Women's Liberation Movement was making headway in South Australia, with socially constructed barriers to their full participation in society being gradually broken down. The movement influenced schools, where it was felt that attitudes could be developed that would hasten changes in society. The

appointment of advisers to South Australian Government Departments in an effort to reduce discrimination against women in 1975, and the formation of a Women's Advisory Unit in 1977 in the South Australian Education Department created a significant focus for reform attempts within schools, and certainly made its values clear in the selection of curriculum materials.

The Director General (Steinle) also took the issue seriously, and in his annual report in 1978 highlighted equal opportunity needs of girls, and the need to make curriculum changes to accommodate them. These values were ultimately reflected in the 1981 curriculum policy document 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes'.

Other equality issues came to the fore during the 1970s. Strategies, for example, were developed in South Australia to endeavour to overcome the disadvantages of Aborigines.

Multi-culturalism also had an impact. Values associated with it changed rapidly over the decade following the Karmel Report, and three different forms of educational programmes emerged. Schools began to teach English as a second language, and schools were able to apply for additional teaching staff to allow this to occur. Community languages were also encouraged where teachers could be found to provide languages other than English to the dominant ethnic grouping within a school.

Certainly, each of these impacted on policy statements relating to curriculum. They created considerable discussion amongst the Steering Committee members for the development of 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' in 1978 and 1979, for they were difficult to include, as they were across curriculum issues. Ultimately they appeared in 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' as 'Twelve Expectations' rather than firm policies, and a number of separate policy documents were produced in the 1980s to show how these expectations could be met within schools.

The literature search suggested that matters such as Union influence and parental involvement may significantly influence curriculum policies. Conclusions of the study indicate that in South Australia Unions were unconcerned about the content of the school curriculum, and gave it negligible attention. Parents too, had little voice in the development of system curriculum policy, although at the school level they expressed points of view through School Council.

10.8. Final Conclusions and Inferences.

The empirical study set out to analyze the forces in play and the processes that shaped the development of broad curriculum policy documents produced by the South Australian Education Department between 1968 and 1985. The knowledge obtained was expected to contribute to the understanding of some of the strengths and weaknesses of a range of theories about policy making. It would extend the body of knowledge about the formation of curriculum policies in an Australian context, and be useful in shaping theories for curriculum policy development in educational bureaucracies. In this way, the knowledge would be of value in training future curriculum policy makers, by providing a greater understanding of the forces which may influence policy agendas, and the direction that curriculum policies may take in response to these forces.

The study determined that the curriculum policy making process in South Australia was incremental and disjointed, with a number of successive revisions of curriculum purposes being developed over the period of the study. Curriculum policy documents finally emerged when democratic processes were truncated to meet political expediency, and on each occasion the resulting policy achieved its symbolic purposes but failed to meet the needs of the major policy users - that is, schools. This in itself was sufficient to ensure that the issue of the very purposes of schools re-occurred throughout the study period, for schools looked to the education system for leadership in the provision of a framework to support school based curriculum developments.

No attempts were made by the South Australian Education Department to develop a comprehensive and rational model of curriculum policy development. The study literature research provides sufficient evidence to suggest that such an approach would fail as a result of the wide range of values existing within (large) bureaucracies, and that an incremental approach was more likely to be successful. This was the preferred approach to policy development in the case study, particularly as the changes envisaged were not expected to be large, and objectives were unclear each time the purposes of schooling emerged as an agenda item.

The most significant of the curriculum policy documents produced, 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes', went through a series of iterations before the democratic processes were truncated to produce a symbolic statement to meet political purposes, with the promise of resource papers to help schools structure their curriculum. The lack of haste or energy in supporting the original document confirmed the study hypothesis that its major purpose was symbolic rather than utilitarian. The questions of curriculum control and management which led to its publication proved more important than the democratic processes that developed the various policy drafts. Nevertheless, the final document incorporated many of the ideas of stakeholders.

The influence of individuals on curriculum policies in South Australia proved to be marked. The Director General of Education developed the 'Freedom and Authority Memorandum' in 1970 as a singular effort, and the Deputy Directors' Generals were responsible for developing the ideas of committees who had failed to achieve in developing the 1971 and 1985 policy statements. The 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' document reflected the influences of writers such as Aston, and eventually Smallacombe, rather than respond to the needs of the major group of stakeholders, schools themselves, while the Director of Curriculum saw that the political objectives were met. Thus, in each document produced, people and organisational politics

became more important than planned processes, and the beliefs and values of key actors just as important as external influences.

The sources of the policy agendas, while appearing to policy actors involved in the policy processes to be internal in origin, were modified during development to meet external purposes. The policy agendas were linked to social and political pressures, and the policy statements arising, which frequently began with professional reformers, were modified in their final stages as an outcome of more publicly perceived needs. Thus curriculum policy documents produced reflected considerable 'partisan mutual adjustment' in their establishment, fulfilling symbolic purposes, rather than bringing about structural coherence or curriculum policy activity at a school level. As a feature, each policy development reflected recent past activities, particularly in the values area focussing on social justice, formalising and legitimizing the action of stakeholders, rather than providing a blueprint for future endeavours.

Processes involved, though not consciously modeled to conform, proved to be support the theoretical approaches to public policy anticipated and emerging from the work of Lasswell, Lindblom, and others, while the issues of debate and tensions anticipated were consistent with the literature findings of Evetts, and Miller. The politics associated with the processes were also quite homogeneous with the writings of Boyd and Weick, though Unions and organised parent activities proved inconsequential in shaping curriculum policy directions. In this sense, empirical data relating to the activity of the Curriculum Policy makers of the South Australian Education Department for this period of study matches the theoretical findings of these authors .

This study should help scholars interested in the formation of policy agendas to better predict curriculum directions and activities within Australian educational bureaucracies. The iterative nature of policy development makes future policy revisions inevitable. As this conclusion is being written, the new Director General of Education, Dr

K.G.Boston, has called for a review of the 'Into the 80s - Curriculum Authority and Responsibility' policy document, so that schools will have a clearer framework for the development of curriculum. At the same time a draft document for the new framework has been issued to a sample of schools for their response. The draft focuses on the changing economic circumstances within the State of South Australia, and it highlights the need for schools to make pupils more productive and responsive as part of a new charter for South Australian schools. The document will replace 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes', and is to be entitled 'Towards the Twenty-First Century' .

Bibliography.

(entries by author only)

(A) *Published Sources.*

Advertiser 1973, Editorial., **Public Examinations Needed?** Adelaide Advertiser Press, 25th August.

Aston, R. & Wiseman, M. 1978a, **First Progress Report on the Amplification of the Purposes of Schools**, Ed Dept Archives.

Aston, R. & Wiseman, M. 1978b, **Report to the Central Coordinating Committee (1978)**, Superintendent of Curriculum, Mr M. Strange, Education Department of South Australia, Feb.

Aston, R. & Wiseman, M. 1978c, **The Amplification of the Purposes of Schools**, Vols 1 & 2, South Australian Education Department.

Aston, R. 1978, **A Report to the Director General of Education on the progress of the committee**, 8th October. - Ed Dept Archives.

Barr, T.M. 1981, **A Biography of Albert Walter Jones**, Masters Thesis, University of New England, August.

Barcan, A.R. 1980, **A History of Australian Education**, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, pp. 345 - 410.

Barter, K. 1972, **Circular Policy on Secondary Curriculum in South Australia**, 1972:2. from the Director of Secondary Curriculum, South Australian Education Department.

Bean, E.L. Chairperson. 1949, **Education Enquiry Committee, Final Report**. Adelaide, Government Printer.

Beauchamp, George A. 1981, **Curriculum Theory** (fourth edition). F.E. Peacock Publishers, Illinois.

Beeby, C.E. 1988, **Educational Research and the Making of Policy**, as in *Australian Educational Researcher*, Australian Association For Research in Education, vol. 15, no. 2, June,

Berger, P. & Luckman, T. 1967, **The Social Construction of Reality**, London: Allen Lane, The Penguin Press.

Birch, I.K.F. 1975, **Constitutional Responsibility for Education in Australia**, Australian National University Press, Canberra.

Blackburn, Jean. 1981, **Changing Educational emphases for the 1980s**, in **Education, Change and Society**, ed. Peter Karmel, Australian Council for Educational Research.

Blewett, Neal & Jaensch, Dean. 1971, **Playford to Dunstan**, Cheshire, Melbourne.

Blum, Alan F. 1971, **Social Definitions of Knowledge**, in **Knowledge and Control: New Directions for the Sociology of Education**, editor, Young, Michael, D, Collier & MacMillan, London, pp. 117-131,

Boomer, G. chairperson, 1987, **In the National Interest**, Commonwealth Schools Commission.

Boyd, William L. & Kerchner, Charles T. (editors). 1987, **Understanding the Politics of Excellence and Choice in the 1987**, *Politics of Education Yearbook*, American Educational Research Association, Falmer Press.

Boyd, William L. 1978, *The Changing Politics of Curriculum Policy Making for American Schools in the Review of Educational Research*, American Educational Research Association, vol. 48, no. 4,

Boyd, William L. 1983, *Rethinking Educational Policy and Management: Political Science and Educational Administration in the 1980s as in the American Journal of Education*, University of Chicago Press, vol. 92, no. 1, November,

Boyd, William, L. 1989, *Balancing Competing Values in School Reform: The Politics of Perestroika, in Democracy and Bureaucracy; Tensions in Australian Government Schooling*, ed. Judith Chapman and Jeffrey Dunstan, Australian College of Education.

Boyden, Stephen. 1970, in the *South Australian Teachers Journal*, vol. 2, no. 28, Wed. June 24th.

Boyer, E.L. 1981, *Education for a Complete Life*, in *Education, Change, and Society*, Karmel, P.H. ed., ACER, Hawthorn, Victoria:

Broadbent, R F. ed, 1982, *Education Policy Making in Australia*, The Australian College of Education, Carlton, Victoria:

Burns, T. 1971, in Pugh, D.S. et al. 1971, *Writers on Organizations*, Penguin Books, Middlesex.

Canberra Times, 1977, *The Winds of Change are Blowing Chill*. an article on South Australian Education and its future following the retirement of A.W. Jones as Director General of Education, 14th Feb

Christiansen, S. 1969, *There are Reasons why we Should Consider Strike Action*, in *South Australian Teachers Journal*, vol. 1, no. 7.

Clark, D.L. 1981, *In Consideration of Goal Free Planning: The Failure of Traditional Planning Systems in Education*, in *Educational Administrative Quarterly*, UCEA, Columbus, vol. 17, no. 3.

Cobb, Roger W. & Elder Charles D. 1972, *Participation in American Politics: The Dynamics of Agenda Building*. The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.

Cohen, David. 1985, *Curriculum Change: The Way it is, and the Way Forward*, as recorded in *Blocked at the Entrance*, Cohen, David. & Maxwell, Tom. Entrance Publications, Armidale.

Coleman, James et al. 1966, *Equality and Educational Opportunity*, Washington, D.C.; US Dept. of Health Education and Welfare, US Office of Education, OE 38001.

Commonwealth Schools Commission Policy for Girls. 1987, Preamble, Commonwealth Govt. Printer.

Concise "Australian Encyclopedia". 1983, Angus & Robertson, Melbourne.

Core Curriculum for Australian Schools: What it is and Why it is Needed. 1980, Curriculum Development Centre, Canberra Aust, June.

Crittenden, Brian, *Changing Ideas in Australian Education*, in *Australian Education Review* no. 14. Australian Council for Educational Research.

Into the 80s - Curriculum Authority and Responsibility, 1985, South Australian Education Department, D.J. Woolman, Government Printer.

Cusack, John. 1981, *Processes of Decision Making in the Government Sector of South Australia*, as published in *Politics in Education* - The Australian College of Education.

Dror, Yehezkel. 1971, *Ventures in Policy Sciences, Concept and Applications*. Elsevier: N.Y, Oxford, Amsterdam.

Durkheim, E. 1956, *Education and Society*, Chicago: Free Press.

Educating for the 21st Century: A charter for Public Schooling in South Australia. Second Draft March 1990, South Australian Government Printer.

Education Department of South Australia. 1974, *Review of Primary Schools Curriculum, 1974 (report)*. South Australian Government Printer, Adelaide.

Education Department of South Australia. 1978, *A Guide to a Process of Curriculum Development*, D.J. Woolman, Govt Printer.

Joint Education Department and S.A. Institute of Teachers Information and Feedback Assignment. (JESIFA). 1983, Education Department of South Australia. S.A. Govt. Printer.

Education Department of South Australia. 1988, *Draft Three Year Plan*, 8th November.

Education News. Commonwealth Department of Education, Vol 11, 11,

Educational Administrator No 1, 1975, published by the South Australian Institute of Educational Administration, July.

Elboim - Dror, R. 1968, *The Characteristics of the Education Policy Formation System*, in *Policy Sciences 1*, Policy Studies Association, vol. 1, no. 1, Spring 1970,

Election Summary. 1969, in the *South Australian Teachers Journal* New Series, vol. 1, no. 17, Wednesday October 22nd.

Enquiry into Education for Fifteen to Eighteen Year Olds. 1987, discussion paper, the Government of South Australia, S.A. Government Printer.

Evetts, Julie. 1973, *The Sociology of Educational Ideas*, London, Routledge & Keegan Paul Ltd.

Etzioni, A. 1967, *Mixed Scanning: A 'third' Approach to Decision Making*, in *Public Administration Review*, no. 27.

Etzioni, A, & Etzioni-Halevy, E. ed. 1973, *Social Changes: Sources, Patterns, and Consequences*, New York, Basic Books.

Etzioni-Halevy, E. 1979, *Political Manipulation and Administrative Power*, London, Routledge & Keegan Paul Ltd..

Fary, Dr Norm. 1987, as in the *Australian College of Education News* vol. 6, no. 4. Nov, Australian College of Education.

Floyd, J. F, Jr. 1984, *Survey Research Methods*, Applied Social Research Methods Series, Vol 1, SAGE publications, Beverly Hills.

Foster, L.E. 1981, *Major Trends and Developments in Australian Education*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra.

Fox, R. 1972, *Innovation in the Curriculum: An Overview*, in *Interchange*, Ontario Institute of Studies in Education, Vol 2/3, 1972,

Freeman, R. E. 1983, *Strategic Management: a Stakeholder Approach*, as in Lamb. R, (Ed). 1983, *Advances in Strategic Management*, vol 1, Tai Press Inc.

Freeman, R.E. 1988, in *Strategic Planning for Public and Non-Profit Organisations*, Bryson, John, M, 1988, Jossey Bass, pp. 33 and 105.

Goodson, Ivor. 1981, *Life Histories and the Study of Schooling*, *Interchange*, Ontario Institute of Studies in Education, vol. 11, no. 4.

Haines, Murray. 1970, in *South Australian Teachers Journal*, Wednesday, April 8th, vol. 2, no. 25.

Ham, Christopher & Hill, Michael. 1985, *The Policy Process in the Modern Capitalist State*, Wheatsheaf Books Ltd.

Hansard : Official Reports of the Parliamentary Debates , April 28th, 1970. Adelaide: Government Printer.

Hardie, C.D. 1957, *The Idea of Value and the Theory of Education*, in *Educational Theory*, Urbana, University of Illinois, vol. 7 : pp. 196 -199, July,

Harman, G. & Smart, D. eds. 1982, *Federal Intervention in Australian Education: Past, Pesent, and Future*, Georgian House, Melbourne.

Harman, G.S. 1978, *Education and Politics in Changes, Issues and Prospects in Australian Education*, University of Queensland Press, St. Lucia.

Hogwood, B.W. & Gunn, L.A. 1984, *Policy Analysis for the Real World*, Oxford University Press.

Hough, J.R. ed. 1984, *Educational Policy: An International Survey*, Croom Helm, London.

Hudson, Hugh. Minister of Education. 1970, *Education Does not Figure Large in National Priorities* as reported in the *South Australian Teachers Journal* vol. 2, no 32. Wednesday August 12th,

Hunkin, Milton P. 1971, brief Headmasters' Conference summary, from the Headmasters Association President in the *South Australian Teachers Journal* , vol. 3, no. 32. Wednesday August 25th,

Hyams, Bernard, et al. 1988, *Learning and Other Things: Sources of Social History of Education in South Australia*, South Australian Government Printer.

In consideration of Goal Free Planning: The Failure of Traditional Planning Systems in Education. 1981, in *Educational Administrative Quarterly*, vol. 17, no. 3,

Inlow, Gail M. 1972, *Values in Transition*, New York: John Wiley & Sons Inc.

Inside Education. 1978, South Australian Education Department Staff Newspaper. vol. 1, no. 9, October.

Into the 80s - Curriculum Authority and Responsibility: a Policy Statement for Government Schools. 1985, Education Department of South Australia.

Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes. 1981, Education Department of South Australia. DJ Woolman, Govt Printer.

Joint Education Department and S.A. Institute of Teachers Information and Feedback Assignment. (JESIFA). 1981, James, S.A. Govt Printer.

Jones, A.W. 1968, Occasional Address at Diploma Granting Ceremony, 1st March in *South Australian Teachers' Journal*. vol. 20, no. 2, p.16.

- Jones, A. W. 1970, **Memorandum to Heads of Departmental Schools : Freedom and Authority in Schools**, S.A. Education Department, August,
- Jones, A. W. 1975, **Memorandum to Principals and Staff**, South Australian Education Department.
- Jones, A.W. 1977, **Freedom and Authority in schools: A Postscript in Ebb and Flow**, Education Department of South Australia, p. 82.
- Jones, A.W. 1978, **The Influence of the Freedom and Authority Memorandum on Education Policy in South Australia**, University of New England.
- Jones, A.W. 1980, **Decentralization in the Central State, An Australia - United States Comparative Study**, Monograph 5, Centre for Study of Higher Education, University of Melbourne.
- Kaplan, Abraham, 1964, **The Conduct of Enquiry**, San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co.
- Karmel, Peter H. 1973, **Schools in Australia: Interim Committee for the Australian Schools Commission**, Report of the Interim committee, Canberra, AGPS.
- Karmel, Peter, H, chairperson. 1971, **Report of the Committee of Enquiry into Education in South Australia 1969-1970**, A.B. James, Government Printer - Adelaide.
- Keeves, J.P. Chairman. 1981, **Education and Change in South Australia - first report of the Committee of Enquiry into Education in South Australia**, S.A. Govt Printer.
- Keeves, J.P. Chairman. 1982, **Education and Change in South Australia - final report of the Committee of Enquiry into Education in South Australia**, S.A. Govt Printer.
- Kerr, J. 1968, **Changing the Curriculum**, University of London, Unibooks.
- Kirst, M.F, & Walker, D.F. 1971. **An Analysis of Curriculum Policy Making**, in *Review of Educational Research*. American Educational Research Association, vol. 41, no.5,
- Kogan, Maurice. 1979, **Education Policies in Perspective: An appraisal of OECD country education policy reviews**, OECD, Paris.
- Labour Force Status and Educational Attainment, Australia. 1981, Australian Bureau of Statistics, Catalogue No 6240.0.
- Lasswell, H. 1950, **Politics: Who gets what, when, how**, New York: Smith.
- Lasswell, H. 1951, **The Policy Orientation**, in Lerner, D. & Lasswell, H. (Editors). 1970, **The Policy Sciences**, Stanford University Press, Stanford.
- Lasswell, H. 1970, **Types of Public Policy Making**, in Hogwood, B.W. & Gunn, L.A. 1984, **Policy Analysis for the Real World**, Oxford University Press.
- Lauwerys, J.A. ed. 1969 **Education and the Economy**, London: Evans.
- Letter from the Minister of Education. 1969, in the *South Australian Teachers Journal*, New Series, vol. 1, no. 16, Wednesday, October 8th.
- Levitas, Maurice. 1974, **Marxist Perspectives in the Sociology of Education**, London, Routledge & Keegan Paul Ltd.
- Lindblom. C.E, & Braybrooke, D. 1963, **A Strategy of Decision Making**, New York, Free Press.
- Lindblom, C.E. 1959, **The Science of "Muddling Through"**, in *Public Administration Review*, American Society of Public Administration, Washington, no. 19.

- Lindblom, C.E. 1968, *The Policy Making Process*, Prentice-Hall, New York.
- Lindblom, C.E. 1979, Still Muddling, Not Yet Through', in *Public Administration Review*, American Society of Public Administration, Washington, no. 39.
- Litchfield, E.H. 1956, Notes on a General Theory of Administration in *Administration Science Quarterly*, Cornell University, New York, June, pp. 3 -29.
- Majchrzak, Ann. 1984, *Methods for Policy Research*, Applied Social Research Methods Series, vol. 3, SAGE publications, Beverly Hills.
- Mannheim, Karl. 1957, *Freedom, Power, and Democratic Planning*, London: Routledge & Keegan Paul .
- March, J.G. 1972, Model Bias in Action, in *Review of Educational Research*, American Educational Research Association, Washington, vol. 42, no. 4, pp. 413 - 429.
- March, J.G. & Simon, H.A. 1958, *Organizations*, New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Marsh, Colin. 1986, *Curriculum, An Analytical Introduction*, Ian Novak Publishing Co, Sydney.
- Marshall, Catherine. 1988, Bridging the Chasm between Policy Makers and Educators, in *Theory into Practice*, Ohio State University, Columbus, vol. 27, no. 2, Spring,
- Martin, Rodney. chairperson. 1975, to the Primary Schools Advisory Curriculum Board from the Purposes of Schools Advisory Committee, final report.
- McDonnell, Lorraine. 1988, Can Education Research Speak to State Policy?, in *Theory into Practice*, McGraw-Hill, London, vol. 27, no. 2, Spring,
- McGrew, Anthony G, & Wilson, M.J, editors. 1982, *Decision Making. Approaches and Analysis*, Manchester University Press.
- Meyer, John W, & Rowan, Brian. 1977, Institutionalized Organizations: Formal Structure as Myth and Ceremony, in *American Journal of Sociology*, University of Sociology Press, vol. 83, no. 2, pp. 340 -363,
- Miller, Pavla. 1986 *Long Division: State Schooling in South Australian Society*, Wakefield Press.
- Mills, C. Wright. 1959, *The Sociological Imagination*, Oxford University Press.
- Mouzelis, N.P. 1967, *Organisation and Bureaucracy*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Moynihan, D.P. 1973 *The Politics of a Guaranteed Income*, New York, Random House
- in Boyd, W.L. 1978 *Changing Politics of Curriculum Policy Making for American Schools*, *Review of Educational Research*, American Educational Research Association, Washington, vol. 48, no. 4.
- Park, Joe. 1962, *Values and Education*, as recorded in *Education in Urban Society*, edited by B.J. Chandler, Lindley J Stiles, & John I. Kitsuse, New York: Dodd Mead & Company Inc.
- Phenix, Philip H. 1964, *Realms of Meaning*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company.
- Power, Colin. editor. 1982, *The Illusion of Progress: The Keeves Report and the Future of Education*. Papers presented at the 1982 School of Education Seminar Series on the Report of the Committee of Enquiry into Education in South Australia.
- Prunty, J.J. 1984, *A Critical Reformulation of Educational Policy Analysis*, Deakin University.

Public Examinations Needed?. 1973, Adelaide Advertiser, Editorial, 25th August.

Pugh, D.S. et al. 1971, Writers on Organizations, Penguin Books, Middlesex.

Pusey, M. 1980, The Key Issues for Education Policy for the 1980s, mimeographed, and reported by Cusack, John, in Processes of Decision Making in the Government Sector of South Australia, as published in *Politics in Education* (1981 - The Australian College of Education.

Reed, Ivan. 1978, Sociological Perspectives on Education, Books Publishing Ltd, London.

Rossi, P.H, Wright, J.D, & Wright, S.R. 1978, The theory and practice of applied social research, in *Evaluation Quarterly*, Sage Publications, Beverley Hills, vol. 2, no. 2..

Silvert, K. 1970, Man's Power. The Viking Press, N.Y.

Sharp, Rachel. 1980, Knowledge, Ideology and the Politics of Schooling. Towards a Marxist analysis of Education, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London.

Simon, H.A. 1957, Administrative Behaviour (2nd edition), New York: The MacMillan Company.

Skilbeck, M. 1981 in Education, Change, and Society, ACER.

Skills for Australia. 1987, The Federal Department for Employment, Education, and Training, Govt Printer.

South Australian Teachers Journals, from vol. 1, no. 6. New Series, Wednesday April 23rd, 1969, until vol. 20, 1989.

Speedy, Graeme. 1982, The Limits of Curriculum; Reflections on Keeses and Into The 80s", as recorded in *Pivot*, Publications Branch, South Australian Education Department, vol. 9, no. 5,

Steinle, J.R. 1979, as reported in *Inside Education*, S.A. Education Department, vol. 2, no. 10.

Steinle, J.R. 1985, Foreword to Into the 80's - Curriculum Authority and Responsibility: a Policy Statement for Government Schools, Education Department of South Australia.

Style Manual for Authors Editors and Printers, 4th edition, 1988, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra.

Tannock, P.D. 1971, The Development of the Commonwealth Government's Role in Australian Education in *The Forum of Education*. vol. 30, no. 2.

Tannock, P.D. 1975a, Education and the Community. The Movement Away from Formal Education, in *Unicorn*, Australian College of Education, vol. 1, pp. 41-51.

Tannock, P. D. 1975b, The Government of Education in Australia- The Origins of Federal Policy, University of Western Australia Press.

Teachers Salaries Board. Matters T.S.B. 6 of 1973 and 5 of 1974. Headmasters' Case - Reasons for Decision. Adelaide: The Board.

The Purposes of Schools (Revised). 1975, South Australian Education Department.

The Amplification of the Purposes for Schools. 1978, South Australian Education Department - first draft

The Annual Report of the Director General of Education South Australia, D.J. Woolman, Government Printer, vol. from 1968 until 1988,

The Australian August 14th, 1970, Page 3.

The Bulletin August 19th, 1970.

The Schools Curriculum 1. 1976, A.B. James, Government Printer, South Australia.

Theile, Colin. 1975, Grains of Mustard Seed, Education Department of South Australia, S.A. Government Printer.

Tyack, D. 1974, The One Best System, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Vaizey, J. & Robinson, E.A.G. 1966, The Economics of Education, London: Macmillan.

W(h)ither Freedom and Authority. 1975, in the *South Australian Teachers Journal* Vol 7, No 2. Wed February 26th.

Walker, J. S. 1967a, Address at opening of Daws Road High School in *The Education Gazette* vol. LXXXIV, p. 10.

Walker, J.S. 1967b The Changing Face of Education in *South Australian Teachers Journal*. vol. 19, no. 7.

Walker, J. S. 1968, New Freedom in Secondary Education in *South Australian Teachers' Journal*. 20. 2.

Walker, J. S. 1970, Circular 3/70, To school Principals, South Australian Education Department.

Walker, Rob. 1985, Doing Research. A Handbook for Teachers, Methuen.

Walker, W.G, 1968. Quality Education - Australia can Afford It in *South Australian Teachers Journal*. vol. 20. no. 8. P 5.

White, Wilfred, A. 1968, - (President of South Australian Institute of Teachers, New Freedom in Secondary Education, as in the *South Australian Teachers Journal* , vol. 20, no. 2. March,

White, Wilfred, A. 1970, in The activities of the Institute of Teachers during 1970 as summarized in the *South Australian Teachers Journal* vol. 2, no. 35, Wednesday Sept 30th,

Weick, K, 1976, Educational Organisations as Loosely Coupled Systems, in *Administrative Science Quarterly*, Cornell University, New York, vol. 21, pp. 1-19.

Wildavsky, A. 1979, Speaking Truth to Power: The Art and Craft of Policy Analysis, Little, Brown, and Company, Boston and Toronto.

Wiseman, C. 1978, Selection of Major Planning Issues, in *Policy Sciences*, Policy Studies Association, no. 9,

Young, M, 1958, The Rise of the Meritocracy, London: Thames & Hudson.

Young, Michael, D, editor, 1971, Knowledge and Control: New Directions for the Sociology of Education, Collier & MacMillan, London. pp. 8-37.

(B) Unpublished Sources.

5RM radio talk back of 2nd October 1978.

Adelaide Advertiser 18/1/80 - Senator Messner's letter to the Editor, recommending that schooling be tightly related to future employment, and the *Advertiser* 23/1/88 - further letters to the Editor on the matter.

Bates, R.J. 1983, *The Socio-Political Context of Administrative Change and the Metaphorical Negotiation of Educational Reform*. Unpublished mimeographed paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Australian Association for Research in Education.

Boston, Ken, G. 1988, address given at Adelaide Convention Centre, November 1988, to all senior Education Department Officers. South Australian Education Department Archives.

Circular 3/70. 1970, South Australian Education Department. To school Principals from J.S. Walker, Director General of Education.

Circular 1972:2. 1972, *Policy on Secondary Curriculum in South Australia*, from Barter, K, the Director of Secondary Curriculum.

Conference Report, CR-50. 1976, *Curriculum Development*, Education Department of South Australia.

Developing, Implementing and Evaluating Curricula. 1978, A report of the South Australian Secondary Principals' Seminar, 18th-22nd June.

Education Department Archives. 1965 to 1988, South Australian Education Department.

Enquiry Into Immediate Post Compulsory Education, Kevin Gilding, chairperson , draft only - report not released by SA Government at the time of writing.

Interview conducted with Arnold, Rex Superintendent of Curriculum, 8/3/88.

Interview conducted with Aston, Robert. Curriculum Writer 9/3/88.

Interview conducted with Blackburn, Jean, 3/11/88, Consultant to the Karmel Committee 1971, and Deputy Chairman of the Interim Committee for the Australian Schools Commission 1973.

Interview conducted with George, Brenton, Principal of Campbelltown High School. 6/3/88.

Interview conducted with Giles, Jim, Deputy Director General of Schools, October 1987.

Interview conducted with Jones, Alby.W. 4/10/88. former Director General of Education.

Interview conducted with Jones, Alby.W, 3/11/88. former Director General of Education.

Interview conducted with McGuire, Anthony. Superintendent of Curriculum, 7/3/88.

Interview conducted with O'Brien, Maurice. former Director of Curriculum 1/3/88.

Interview conducted with Packer, Kevin, 14/10/88.

Interview conducted with Penna, Isabel, 14/10/88.

Interview conducted with Rea, James, 6/3/78. Executive Officer 'Schools Curriculum 1'

Interview conducted with Smallacombe, Roy. Assistant Director of Curriculum, Sept 1987.

Interview conducted with Steinle, John, R. former Director General of Education in South Australia. 3/11/88.

Interview conducted with Steinle, John, R, former Director General of Education in South Australia. 8/11/88.

Interview conducted with **Travers, John**. Seconded Principal, and Adviser in Curriculum Development, 7/3/88.

Interview conducted with **Wilson, Ian**. President of South Australian Association of State Schools Organizations 1975 - 1989, 23/11/88.

Interview conducted with **Wiseman, Murray**, - curriculum writer - 1/3/88.

Jones, A.W. 1973, **Report of Overseas Visit Oct 2nd, 1972 to Jan 7th 1973**, Education Department of South Australia Archives.

Jones, A.W. c. 1979, **Policy Making in A State Department of Education**. An unpublished paper delivered to New England University.

Kaminsky, James. c. 1976, - an unpublished paper entitled **The Freedom and Authority Memorandum: A Philosophical Addendum**. - Ed Dept archives.

Memorandum to Director General of Education from the Director of Curriculum, September 1983. SA Education Department Archives.

Minute "No 15/1/211". 1978, to the Director General of Education from the Director of Curriculum.

Minutes of Policy Committee Meeting held 22nd February 1979, South Australian Education Department Archives.

Minutes of the CORD Conference held on the 25th February 1981, held in the Convention Centre, 2nd floor, Education Centre.

Minutes of the Curriculum Management team (Curriculum Directorate), July 1981, South Australian Education Department Archives.

Minutes. 1973, Primary Division, S.A. Education Department Archives, April.

Parry, R. 1978, **Contemporary Issues in the Administration of Education in Australia**, Paper delivered at the 5th National Conference, A.C.E.A, Sydney, August.

Report of the Curriculum Development Centre, Canberra, National Workshop, April 1974.

Report of the South Australian Secondary Principal's Seminar, 18-22 June, c. 1977.

Report to the Curriculum Coordinating Committee (15th February 1978) from the Superintendent of Curriculum (Secondary), Mr M. Strange, Education Department of South Australia.

Review of Primary Schools Curriculum, 1974. (a report), Education Department of South Australia, S.A. Education Department Archives. Page 81

South Australian Education Department Archives - 1965-1987, 30 Flinders Street, Adelaide, 5000.

South Australian Education Department, Staff Newspaper, 1977 - 1981.

UNESCO Committee for Education Report. 1974, **Australia in the World of Education Today and Tomorrow**.

Walker, J. S. 1967. Speeches given to Adelaide Rotary Club - Held in the South Australian Education Department Staff Library at The Orphanage Teachers Centre.

**Appendix A: General questions asked
of actors involved in the policy process.**

SOME QUESTIONS RELATED TO

- (a) S.A. Ed Dept. Policy making model.*
- (b) beliefs of individual actors.*
- (c) corporate beliefs of groups.*
- (d) influence of groups and individuals.*

The following questions were a sample of the nature and type of questions used in talking to a sample of people involved in the development of major curriculum policies in S.A. since 1968. While each person received an individualized set of questions in advance of interview, these represent those common to all.

1. Describe your understanding of the policy making processes in S.A. that lead to the OSTP and CA&R documents? (confirm this against the chart of the process to establish both the formal and informal networks).
2. Which groups/individuals appeared influential in the policy processes? Why?
3. What were the lines of communication between groups? between individuals within your group?
4. How were you selected to participate in policy making? By whom?
5. What beliefs/assumptions did you hold about the purposes of schools when you first became involved?
6. Did those beliefs alter at all during the course of events? What/who brought about a modification to your thinking? Why?
7. What curriculum models/paradigms were used to develop OSTP and CA&R? Who developed these models?
8. What did you/your group see as the purposes of the policies being developed?
9. What were the predominant views about curriculum at the various stages of policy development?
10. Which views were (a) readily accepted, (b) rejected, (c) debated at length before acceptance?

11. Were any views given to the group as non-negotiable? By whom? Have you an opinion as to why?
12. What educational purposes do you believe are fundamental beliefs in the documents OSTP and CA&R?
13. What do you think are weaknesses inherent in the policies developed? What should be reviewed?
14. Which of the following views were debated at length and resolved to your group's satisfaction?
 - political purposes of education.
 - economic purposes.
 - social purposes.
 - intellectual purposes.
 - societal purposes.

What was the essence of the debate in each case?

15. Who 'owned' the policies produced?
16. What was your understanding of the context leading to the policy statement?

Appendix B: Sample of more specific questions designed for policy actors.

*example of some questions asked of
J. R. Steinle with regard to the purposes of schools.*

Did the Karmel report influence the need for a statement about the purposes of schools?

Values recorded in the Karmel report became the values for the S.A. education system for the next decade (**non-authoritarian** approach, concern for **individual child**, **equality** of educational opportunities, **diversity** of educational institutions, **decentralization** of decision making, the opening up of educational system to a **variety of ideas**). What were the **social, political, or other forces** that brought Karmel to arrive at this set of values? (State level? Commonwealth level?)

From your perspective, what was the need for the document "The Purposes of Schools"? Who wanted it and why?

What were the symptoms of the problem or issue?

What were the causes?

What process was chosen to develop the document and why?

Why were the particular people chosen to develop the policy?

Who were they? What biases did they bring?

Did they understand the causal structure of the problem?

What was the intent of the document?

What were the implications of NOT having such a policy? (Did it really matter?)

What were the implications of having such a policy?

What was the scale of the problem (State wide, Australia wide, world wide?) and how did you become aware of it?

*Appendix B cont: example of some questions asked of
J. R. Steinle with regard to the purposes of schools.*

What was the intensity (importance) of the problem?

One reason given for developing a policy appears to be associated with protecting schools from the many social issues being forced upon them?

Do you agree, or were there more important reasons? Others?

What were the problems associated with the document produced? How were they highlighted?

To the best of your knowledge, what were the processes by which the issue of 'the purposes of schools' became recognized by A.W. Jones as an agenda item to be placed on the policy agenda?

Who were the interested parties in determining the purposes? What influence did they have on policy preparation?

"The Purposes of Schools" is an imprecise and generalized issue (problem) - what sub-categories or purposes did you expect to be considered?

Were there priorities (in your opinion) among these? Why?

How was the issue further explored in S.A., and how were the outcomes finally articulated and given authority in the phases leading up to 1971, 1975, respectively? (what was the process of approval?)

What were the essential components in the documents, and consequences of these?

Who provided the main policy influence 1971, 1975, 1981 documents?

What part did values play in taking a stance on the 'purposes of schools'? What judgements had you made about the state of the system at the time? What were your personal beliefs about the purposes of schooling - did these impact on the policies developed? How?

*Appendix B cont: example of some questions asked of
J. R. Steinle with regard to the purposes of schools.*

Did these values facilitate or complicate the policy making? Why?

Did you influence perceptions of **desirable ends** and the **acceptable means** to assist these ends?

What 'research' did you undertake with regards to other statements about the purposes of schools? What of this proved useful?

What were the **outcomes of the 1975 document**?

Did the 1975 version keep up with the **rate of change** involved in the definition of the issue?

What were the **shortfalls** in your expectancies?

In retrospect, how did the versions of 1971 and 1975 measure up?

Why was the "Schools Curriculum 1" document produced?

Why was the 1975 document revised? Why did it maintain the same value systems as the earlier versions? What did the 1981 document address that the 1975 version failed to do? Was the 1981 version expected to fill the same role as the '75 document? What was new that made it an agenda item all over again?

What part (if any) did the Commonwealth Government, Commonwealth Schools Commission, State Cabinet, State Director Generals, or others have in creating the issue of school purposes as a policy item?

Appendix C: Sample letter outlining specific approaches to policy actors.

25 Spriggs Street,
Berri. 5343.
22/10/88.

Ms Jean Blackburn,

Dear Jean,

You may not remember me, but I am currently involved in the Wollongong University PhD programme established by Professor Carla Fasano in the area of Educational Policy Analysis. I appreciated your earlier input to the programme, your breadth of experience, and tremendous knowledge of processes and activities nationally.

My thesis topic looks at the processes associated with the development of curriculum policies in South Australia since 1968, leading to the present day. While initially I intended to focus on the 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' document published in 1981, I have discovered that the emerging issues had their origins towards the end of the 1960s, and hence I have enjoyed reflecting on the activities and events of a broader time-span than initially envisaged.

While I am quite happy with some of my research, there are aspects where I feel insecure in what I have written to date. For example, it is clear that the values recorded in the Karmel enquiry became the values for the next decade (and beyond) in South Australia. As notions such as 'equity' and 'diversity' were presented in 'Karmel' in a most progressive (and enlightened) way, it is too simplistic to simply rationalize that they emerged from the context of the day. Individual influences and philosophical understandings probably contributed significantly.

As I am aware that you became the major author of both the State and National Karmel enquiries, *I write to ask a significant favour*. I would very much appreciate an hour or so of your time to talk about the values that emerged in the two Karmel enquiries, as these became central to the subsequent 'purposes of schools' documents. At present, I am aware of some of the contextual implications, and I have drafted a chapter based on my understanding of this. I attach a copy of this chapter (first draft), with the hope that that you can comment on it in any way, as it contains many assumptions that you are in a good position to challenge. If you are prepared to help me in this way, I hope that I will be able to rewrite the chapter in a way that closer reflects the derivation of the values Karmel includes.

I will telephone you in the next day or so to see if you are prepared and able to help me. If you are, then perhaps we can set a time to discuss your perceptions of the events of the late 1960s, and to comment on things I have written. If other demands on your time make that impossible please do not hesitate to say so.

I would be particularly interested in your interpretation of why the 'Karmel' review was undertaken, how its membership was selected, how terms of reference were framed, and how the review team established the purposes of schooling outlined in the report? Whose values were being reflected in the report? What political input was there? Who influenced the outcomes of Karmel most? What was Cabinet's response to the report? How was it to be implemented? Did the change of Government influence the final document? In hind-sight what parts of the report proved most valuable? What were the differences between the S.A. version, and the National document? Which had the greater impact? Why? and so on.....

While I have answers to many of my questions, your perceptions will help me triangulate the data, and will give me greater confidence in my findings (or make me reappraise them!).

Anyway, I would appreciate an hour or so with you.

I trust this finds you in good health! Kind regards,

Peter Manuel.

Appendix D: Sample of a specific approach to a possible policy actor.

Memo: To Ian Wilson - President of SAASSO.

Re: PhD studies - parental involvement in Curriculum Policies developed by the SA Education Department since 1968.

Further to our telephone conversation, I am investigating the **processes of curriculum policy development** in this state **from 1968 to the present day**. In particular, I am looking at the stakeholders, and their influence on curriculum, and hence I need to investigate what influence (if any) parents and individuals have had in determining CURRICULUM POLICIES for this state. Hopefully, out of all this will be a set of recommendations for the Education Department, but the major task at the moment is getting good information for my thesis, so I can accurately paint the scene.

Thanks for your willingness to assist - the interview time of 10 a.m. next Wednesday will suit me in getting your perspectives on the following. The questions are not in any particular order, and do not have to be answered specifically - however, I need to 'cover the territory'.

1. When did you first get involved in parent organizations? What office positions have you held? For what period of time?
2. Over that time, can you give examples of parents becoming involved in curriculum policies at a state level? How? Is the scene any different at the school level? Has the scene changed at all since 1968?
3. What parent/SAASSO involvement are you aware of (if any!) relating to these major policy statements.....
 - "Freedom and Authority Memorandum" (A.W. Jones 1970)
 - "The Purposes of Schools" 1971.
 - "The Purposes of Schools (revised)" 1975.
 - "The Schools Curriculum 1" 1976.
 - "Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes" 1981.
 - "Curriculum Authority and Responsibility" 1985.
4. Did changes to the Education Act (1972) giving greater powers to School Councils improve the ability of parents to become involved in curriculum policies at a state level? school level? Did the Act go far enough?
5. Curriculum policies are often an outcome of personalities as much as the product of processes. Are you aware of any influential parents who may have become involved in policy changes.
6. Another way of influencing curriculum is through being represented on curriculum committees or government initiated reviews. What representation has SAASSO had over the years? What has your own part been?
7. What particular curriculum policies have you been able to directly influence as a parent? as the President of SAASSO? other?

8. What formal processes have been planned to ensure parents have a voice in Departmental Curriculum Policies? Are these adequate at present? Should parents be involved? why?
9. When Jones gave Freedom and Authority to school Principals to alter curriculum and timetables, did you anticipate parents would share this responsibility? Why, in your view, did they opt-out of this opportunity?
10. Do you favour the system such as the Victorian one, where the control of the curriculum is with the school Council, or would you prefer the centralized production of resources (for example, NSW or core curriculum)? - or some other arrangement?
11. Does it matter that parents have not been involved in curriculum? Should it be left to the professionals? Should any parent involvement remain at a political level?
12. As curriculum depends on people's value systems, how can parents be represented adequately to present their point of view?

I'm sure there are many other questions that will come from this set. Given the magic wand to fix it all up, where should we go with the involvement of parents in this area of concern?

Thanks Ian.

Peter Manuel.

**Appendix E: List of extended interviews
conducted in connection with curriculum policy studies.**

PERSON	1979 STATUS	INTERVIEW
Jim Giles	Deputy Director General (Schools)	Oct 87.
Roy Smallacombe	Assistant Director of Curriculum	Oct 87. and 22nd Nov. 88.
Robert Wyatt	Country Schools Rep on OSTP Steering Ctee	Oct 87.
Colin Theile	Head of Wattle Park Teachers Centre, and on OSTP Steering Ctee	28th Feb 88.
Michael Sullivan	Member of Research and Planning Group	2nd March 88.
Maurice O'Brien	Director of Curriclm Chairperson of ACB Chairperson of CCC	1st March 88.
Jim Rea	Exec Officer to Malc Strange - 1976	6th March 88.
Don Pallant	Supt of Curriculum Chairman of Forward Planning Sub Ctee Curric. Direct. rep on Steering Committee.	2nd March 88.
Malcolm McArthur	Curriculum PEO on Steering Committee	3rd March 88.
Murray Wiseman	Curriculum Writer	3rd March 88.
Brenton George	Principals Rep on Steering Committee	6th March 88.

Appendix E. cont.

List of extended interviews conducted in connection with curriculum policy studies.

PERSON	1979 STATUS	INTERVIEW
Josephine Coonan	Teacher rep on Steering Committee	6th March 88.
John Travers	Education Officer - writing CA&R	7th March 88.
Tony McGuire	Supt of Curriculum responsible CA&R	7th March 88.
Bob Aston	OSTP Curriculum Writer	10th March 88.
Jean Blackburn.	Member of Karmel enquiry.	2nd Nov. 88.
John Steinle.	Director General of Education 1977-1988.	2nd Nov. 88.
Ian Wilson.	President SAASSO 1975- 1989	23rd Nov. 88.

Interviews of less than one-hour duration are not recorded here - nor are telephone interviews or follow-up discussions

SOUTH AUSTRALIAN PREMIERS & MINISTERS OF EDUCATION.

SINCE 1965.

ERA	<i>PREMIERS</i>	<i>Education MINISTERS</i>
1963	T. PLAYFORD. Lib & Country League	B. PATTINSON.
	to 10/3/65.	to 10/3/65
1965	F.H. WALSH. Labor	R.R. LOVEDAY.
	10/3/65 to 1/6/67.	10/3/65 to 17/4/68
1967	D.A. DUNSTAN. Labor	
	1/6/67 to 17/4/68	
1968	R.S. HALL Liberal	Ms J.S. STEELE.
	17/4/68 to 2/6/70	17/4/68 to 2/3/70
1970		J.W.H. COUMBE.
		2/3/70 to 1/6/70
	D.A. DUNSTAN. Labor	H.R. HUDSON.
	2/6/70 to 15/2/79	1/6/70 to 24/6/75
	J.D. CORCORAN. Labor	D.J. HOPGOOD.
	15/2/79 to 18/9/79	24/6/75 to 18/9/79
1979	D.O. TONKIN. Liberal	H. ALLISON.
	18/9/79 to 10/11/82	18/9/79 to 10/11/82
1982	J.C. BANNON. Labor	L.M.F. ARNOLD.
	10/11/82 to present	10/11/82 to 17/12/85
1985		G.J. CRAFTER.
	appendix prepared 10/9/88 from Hansard files.	17/12/85 to present

Diagram F.1. South Australian Premiers and Ministers of Education 1965 - 1989

Appendix G: Chronology of South Australian Leadership Changes and Major Documents referred to within the study.

1965:

T. Playford (Liberal and Country League, Premier of South Australia) to 10/3/65

B. Pattinson (Minister of Education, South Australia) to 10/3/65

F.H. Walsh (Labour Party, Premier of South Australia) 10/3/65 to 1/6/67

R. Loveday (Minister of Education, South Australia) 10/3/65 to 17/4/68

1966:

1967:

D. Dunstan (Labor Party, Premier of South Australia) 1/6/67 to 17/4/68

Commonwealth Department of education and Science created.

1968:

R.S. Hall (Liberal Party, Premier of South Australia) 17/4/68 to 2/6/70

J. Steele (Minister of Education, South Australia) 17/4/68 to 2/3/70.

J.S. Walker (Director General of Education, South Australia)

1969:

Formation of The Australian Education Council. (AEC).

1970:

D.A. Dunstan (Labor Party, Premier of South Australia) 2/6/70 to 15/2/79;

H. Hudson (Minister of Education, South Australia) 1/6/70 to 24/6/75.

J.S. Walker document "A Statement of Needs in Australian Education." (AEC)

A.W. Jones (Director General of Education, South Australia)

"Freedom and Authority Memorandum" forwarded to S.A. Headmasters.

1971:

"The Purposes of Schools" 1971 - S.A. Ed. Dept. curriculum policy document to schools.

P.H. Karmel, chairperson. 1971, Report of the Committee of Enquiry into Education in South Australia 1969-1970. (known as the Karmel Report).

1972:

Interim Schools Commission formed (Commonwealth)

1973

P.H. Karmel, 1973, 'Schools in Australia: Interim Committee for the Australian Schools Commission', Report of the Interim committee, Canberra, AGPS.(known as the Commonwealth Karmel report)

Formation of the "Commonwealth Schools Commission":

Formation of the State Grants Act - agreement with Commonwealth for funding education.

1974:**1975:**

D.J. Hopgood (Minister of Education, South Australia) 24/6/75 to 18/9/79.

"The Purposes of Schools (Revised)" (1975), curriculum policy document forwarded to S.A. schools.

1976:

"The Schools Curriculum 1" document (1976), Summary of S.A. curriculum policies.

1977:**1978:**

CORD approval to develop an R-12 document on the Purposes of Schools, S.A.

Resource paper entitled *A guide to a Process of Curriculum Development* produced by the Secondary Division of the S.A. Education Department.

1979:

D.J. Corcoran (Labor Party, Premier of South Australia) 15/2/79 to 18/9/79

D.O. Tonkin (Liberal Party, Premier of South Australia) 18/9/79 to 6/11/82.

H. Allison (Minister of Education, South Australia) 18/9/79 to 10/11/82.

Introduction of "Programme Performance Budgeting" by Tonkin Liberal Govt.

1980:**1981:**

J.P. Keeves, chairman, 1981, 'Education and Change in South Australia - first report of the Committee of Enquiry into Education in South Australia.', (known as the first Keeves Report)

"Into the 80's - Our Schools and Their Purposes" (1981) - Curriculum Policy Document to schools.

1982:

J.P. Keeves, chairman, 1982, 'Education and Change in South Australia - final report of the Committee of Enquiry into Education in South Australia.'

J.C. Bannon (Labor Party, Premier of South Australia) 6/11/82 to present.

L. Arnold (Minister of Education, South Australia) 10/11/82 to 17/12/85.

1983:

1984:

1985:

G. Crafter (Minister of Education, South Australia) 18/12/85 to the present

'Into the 80s - Curriculum Authority and Responsibility', curriculum policy document to schools.

'Quality Education Review Committee Report' (QERC) Commonwealth Karmel report.

1986:

1987:

Cox Report 1. - Report on Advisory Services within South Australia.

1988:

"Strengthening Australian Schools" Commonwealth Government Report.

Gilding Report - Post Compulsory Education in South Australia.

Appendix H: Composition of Committees of Educational Review (Chronological Order)

Walker, Dr. E. R., (Chairperson), 1944, Report of Inter-Departmental Committee on the Commonwealth's Responsibility in Relation to Education., Commonwealth Government Printer.

The Committee membership was recorded as follows:

Sir David Rivett, Chief Executive Officer, CSIR;
Dr. E.R. Walker, Deputy Director General of War Organisations of Industry;
Professor R.C. Mills, Chairman Universities Commission;
Dr H.C. Coumbes, Director General of Post War Reconstruction;
Dr J.H.L. Cumpston, Director General of Health;
E.P. Eltham, Director of Industrial Training - Dept of Labour and National Service;
Col. R.D. Madgwick, Director of the Army Information Service;
G.P.N. Watt, Asst Secretary - Defence Division of Treasury.

Bean, E.L., chairperson, 1949, Education Enquiry Committee, Final Report. Adelaide Government Printer.

The Committee membership was recorded as follows:

E.L. Bean, Chairman.
H.W. Hooper.
H.H. Penny.
J.F. Ward.
C.L. Johnston, secretary.

Karmel, Peter, H., chairperson. 1971, Report of the Committee of Enquiry into Education in South Australia 1969-1970., A.B. James., Government Printer - Adelaide.

The Committee membership was recorded as follows:

Chairman:

Emeritus Professor Peter Henry Karmel, C.B.E., B.A.(Melb), Ph.D.(Camb), F.A.C.E., Vice-Chancellor of the Flinders University of South Australia.

Members:

The Honourable Justice Roma Flinders Mitchell, LL.B.(Adel.), Justice of the Supreme Court of South Australia.

Sydney Stephen Dunn, B.A., Dip. Ed.(Adel), B.Ed.(Melb.), F.A.C.E., F.A.Ps.S., Professor of Education, Monash University.

Ian Somerville Dudley Hayward, M.A.(Camb.), F.A.I.M., Managing Director of John Martin & Co. Limited.

William Cropley Radford, M.B.E., M.A., M. Ed.(Melb.), Ph.D.(Lond.), F.A.C.E., Director of the Australian Council for Educational Research.

Secretary:

William Thompson, B.A., Dip. Ed.(Adel.), M.A.C.E., until 27th April 1969.

Ernest Crosby Wilson, M.A., B.Sc., Dip. Ed.(Adel), M.A.C.E., from 27th April 1969.

Consultants:

Ronald Robert Hirst, M.Ec., Dip. ED.(Adel.), until 15th January 1970.

Jean Blackburn, B.A.(Melb.), Dip. Ed.(Adel.), M.A.C.E., from the 19th April 1969.

Appendix H: (cont) Composition of Committees of Educational Review (Chronological Order)

Karmel, Peter H. 1973, Schools in Australia: Interim Committee for the Australian Schools Commission., Report of the Interim committee, Canberra, AGPS.

The Committee membership was recorded as follows:

Chairman:

Emeritus Professor Peter Henry Karmel, C.B.E., B.A.(Melb), Ph.D.(Camb), F.A.C.E., Vice-Chancellor of the Flinders University of South Australia.

Jean Blackburn, Deputy Chairman.

J.J. Wilson, Secretary.

Greg Hancock.

Edward T Jackson.

A.W. Jones.

F.M. Martin.

Peter Tannock.

M.E. Thomas.

Alice Whitely.

Wilfred A White.

Keeves, J.P. chairman, 1981, Education and Change in South Australia - first report of the Committee of Enquiry into Education in South Australia., S.A. Govt Printer, and,

Keeves, J.P. chairman, 1982, Education and Change in South Australia - final report of the Committee of Enquiry into Education in South Australia., S.A. Govt Printer.

The Committee membership was as follows:

Chairman:

John Philip Keeves, B.Sc.(Adel.), Dip. Ed.(Oxon.), M.Ed.(Melb.), Ph.D.(ANU), fil dr (Stockholm), F.A.C.E., F.A.S.S.A., Director, Australian Council for Educational Research.

Membership:

Peter Darrel Agars, AASA (Snr), Senior Consultant, Touche Ross Services.

John Francis Gregory, B.A., Dip. Ed.(Flinders), South Australian institute of Teachers.

Diana d'Este Medlin, B.Sc.(Adel.), F.A.C.E., Principal, Pembroke School.

William John Menz, O.A.M., B.Ec.(Adel.), General Manager, Arnott Motteram Menz Pty. Ltd.

Ian Sydney Wilson, F.C.A., Chartered Accountant.

Secretariat:

Douglas John Shaw, B.Sc., B.Ed.(Qld.), M.Ed., M.B.A.(Melb.), Secretary.

Bernard Crawford Lindner, B.Sc.(Hons), Ph.D.(Adel.), Senior Research Officer.

**Appendix I: Commonwealth Authorities:
Grants to South Australia for Educational Purposes.
(\$'000)**

	1972/3	1973/4	1974/5	1975/6	1976/7	1977/8
CURRENT GRANTS -						
Research and Development in Edn.	13	18	58	116	139	135
Non Government Schools.	2,529	3,480	6,185	7,085	10,971	12,415
Government Schools	----	2,695	10,913	17,985	21,628	23,478
Schools - joint programs	----	289	1,919	2,382	2,439	2,673
Technical and Further Education	----	889	2,639	3,770	4,502	4,737
Universities	7,898	19,808	38,067	43,107	51,000	56,872
Colleges of adv educn & tchrs colls	2,638	13,518	24,531	28,838	38,221	41,724
Aboriginal Education	279	489	614	990	1,151	1,479
Child Migrant and refugee educn.	326	587	810	514	22	16
Child Care & Pre-School educn	----	690	3,233	5,025	5,601	5,194
<i>total current</i>	13,683	42,463	88,969	109,812	135,674	148,723
CAPITAL GRANTS -						
Government Schools	3,505	8,556	17,354	9,735	13,309	14,335
Non-government schools	300	874	1,731	1,102	1,300	2,723
Schools - joint programmes	----	-----	75	219	63	11
Child Migrant Education	----	165	92	275	31	----
Technical and further educn.	1,130	2,063	2,800	1,208	2,320	4,837
Universities	2,697	7,050	7,320	3,421	6,426	6,634
Colleges of adv edn & tchrs colleges	3,639	6,196	12,579	6,886	4,276	8,457
Pre-Schools & child care	----	514	2,773	1,498	160	----
Aboriginal education	156	625	108	377	233	50
<i>total capital</i>	11,427	26,043	44,832	24,721	28,118	37,047
TOTAL	25,110	68,506	133,801	134,533	163,793	185,770

source: National School Statistics Collection, South Australia. (1970, 1971, 1979), Australian Bureau of Statistics. - Continued next page.

**Appendix I (cont): Commonwealth Authorities:
Grants to South Australia for Educational Purposes
(\$'000)**

	1978/9	1979/80	1980/1	1981/2	1982/3	1983/4
CURRENT GRANTS -						
Research and Development in Edn.	124	107	113	106	n/a	n/a
Non Government Schools.	13,918	16,592	20,726	26,598	n/a	n/a
Government Schools	23,449	25,256	29,728	34,369	n/a	n/a
Schools - joint programs	2,379	2,866	2,835	3,761	n/a	n/a
Technical and Further Education	5,116	6,661	7,801	8,338	n/a	n/a
Universities	57,917	63,161	70,280	80,332	n/a	n/a
Colleges of adv educn & tchrs colls	42,477	46,612	52,182	56,154	n/a	n/a
Aboriginal Education	1,560	1,642	1,795	2,093	n/a	n/a
Child Migrant and refugee educn.	180	180	301	567	n/a	n/a
Child Care & Pre-School educn	3,730	3,730	3,730	3,730	n/a	n/a
School-to-work transition activities	670	1,119	3,307	3,559	n/a	n/a
<i>total current</i>	151,520	167,926	192,798	219,607	n/a	n/a
CAPITAL GRANTS -						
Government Schools	13,469	13,000	11,248	11,205	n/a	n/a
Non-government schools	2,709	1,821	2,027	3,461	n/a	n/a
Schools - joint programmes	---	---	---	---	n/a	n/a
Child Migrant Education	---	---	20	3	n/a	n/a
Technical and further educn.	6,901	8,697	8,718	11,207	n/a	n/a
Universities	6,439	3,482	3,599	4,126	n/a	n/a
Colleges of adv edn & tchrs and pre-school teachers colleges	5,177	4,666	3,237	3,218	n/a	n/a
Pre-Schools & child care	---	---	---	---	n/a	n/a
Aboriginal education	149	23	5	9	n/a	n/a
<i>total capital</i>	34,844	31,689	28,854	33,332	n/a	n/a
TOTAL	186,364	199,615	221,652	252,939	n/a*	n/a*

source: National School Statistics Collection, South Australia. (1979, 1980, 1983), Australian Bureau of Statistics.

* statistics not available beyond 1981/2 in this format.

**Appendix J: Summary of Educational Expenditure, S.A. State
Government (1964 - 1986)
(\$'000)**

Year	Primary Edn	Secondary Edn	Other	Total
1963/64	17,177	15,892	1963 - 1968 stats include	55,073
1964/65	17,248	16,799	scholarships,	61,937
1965/66	20,129	19,717	libraries, mus-	70,033
1966/67	21,240	21,621	eum, art gall-	69,564
1967/68	23,211	24,078	ery & cap. wks	77,036
1968/69	33,502	24,892	23,472	89,215*
1969/70	37,344	33,685	27,579	103,078*
1970/71	44,871	38,726	35,341	125,519*
1971/72	55,759	48,072	39,310	162,221*
1972/73	61,284	57,619	46,719	176,370*
1973/74	80,596	74,718	29,738	200,800*
1974/75	107,324	102,678	26,028	262,248*
1975/76	123,878	119,513	14,339	302,669*
1976/77	142,995	146,474	15,530	305,002*
1977/78	174,809	153,539	14,258	342,607*
1978/79	187,970	162,060	14,222	364,253*
1979/80	205,407	168,585	12,973	386,967*
1980/81	236,613	193,271	13,624	443,529
1981/82	244,297	204,160	16,588	464,952
1982/83	273,808	237,696	18,582	530,088
1983/84	281,133	256,957	17,681	551,771
1984/85	299,450	278,683	20,987	599,120
1985/86	305,960	274,611	22,344	644,803

• teacher education scholarships offered (1972-1980) - amount shown in Other column.

* TAFE was part of the S.A. Education Dept until 1976, and accounted for most expenditure shown in the Other column.

All statistics above extracted from "Annual Reports of the Minister of Education", (1946-1986), Govt. Printer, Adelaide.

Appendix K: Demographic variables in South Australia 1965 -1985. (Schools, Teachers, and Pupils)

YEAR	Nº GOVT SCHOOLS	Nº STUDENTS 31ST JULY.	Nº FTE TCHRS	Nº NON-GOVT SCH.	Nº STUDENTS 31ST JULY	Nº FTE TCHRS
------	-----------------	------------------------	--------------	------------------	-----------------------	--------------

1965	675	202,636	8,015	172	37,866	1,366
1966	673	210,435	8,189	172	37,436	1,306
1967	663	217,034	8,669	173	37,259	1,315
1968	663	258,644	9,021	171	36,625	1,319
1969	649	226,091	9,070	171	36,669	1,369
1970	651	228,788	9,331	170	37,106	1,418
1971	631	231,786	10,049	169	37,962	1,682
1972	615	232,812	10,767	163	37,689	1,722
1973	614	231,786	11,606	163	37,962	1,777
1974	613	232,479	12,489	157	38,893	1,819
1975	619	234,712	12,957	151	39,297	1,899
1976	625	233,614	13,427	147	39,299	1,989
1977	626	233,210	14,125	145	39,446	2,070
1978	628	230,455	14,475	151	39,441	2,152
1979	632	224,525	14,603	155	39,972	2,295
1980	638	218,682	14,628	159	41,116	2,394
1981	638	213,033	14,472	163	43,312	2,527
1982	716*	207,944	14,212	169	45,972	2,737
1983	714	205,517	14,254	173	48,260	2,902
1984	708	201,220	14,324	174	49,384	3,087
1985	708	196,236	14,204	175	51,246	3,579
1986	711	192,489	14,187	178	52,788	3,340
1987	717	187,388	13,951	177	53,959	3,400
1988	715	187,766	13,777	178	55,245	3,476

* indicates changing definition of a school. Administration groups such as Special Education Units, the Museum, and the Zoo included for the first time.

Statistics attained from

• South Australian Year Books. (1965, 1966, ... 1989) • South Australian Statistical Register (ABS Adelaide) (1989) • National Schools Statistics Collection - Australia. (1970, 1975, 1980) • National Schools Statistics Collection - South Australia (1980).

Appendix L: Memorandum to Heads of Departmental Schools: Freedom and Authority in Schools.

I have been asked to define more clearly what is meant by the freedom you and your staff have been exhorted to use in schools. I shall be grateful if you will make the contents of this memorandum known to your staff.

Let me say at the outset that you as Head of your school, by delegated authority from the Minister and the Director General, are in undisputed control of your school.

Within the broad framework of the education Act, the general curriculum advised by the curriculum boards and approved by me as Director General of education, and the general policy set by your Division and communicated to you by circular, you have the widest liberty to vary courses, to alter the timetable, to decide the organization of the school and government within the school, to experiment with teaching methods, assessment of student achievement and in extra-curricular activities.

Grouping, setting, streaming, development of tracks, block time-tabling and ungrading are all acceptable schemes or organization. Co-operative teaching, team teaching, tutorials, and independent study are all acceptable methods for teaching and learning.

In any experiment or variation the general well-being and education of students must be the prime concern. Consequently any major change should be with the full knowledge of all parents.

In exercising your authority and freedom to run your school as you think fit, of necessity you must have the backing of your staff. Without their support and participation and their adequate preparation, any departures from tradition will have little chance of success.

Just as you have professional freedom and delegated authority, so too the same privileges should be extended to your staff, who in turn must accept ultimate authority in the school and the stake that parents and students have in what goes on in the schools.

Staff members will more readily follow a course of action if they have been taken into confidence and have a share of formulating the policy. They will be less effective and less enthusiastic if they feel that communication is all one way, and their voices are not heard.

With any innovation it is expected that the motive is to meet more effectively the needs of students. A sound reason for rejecting, say, a trial of "setting" English or Mathematics or indeed of classes in any given subject, might be that there are insufficient teachers of the appropriate kind available at the one time to organize it. An unsound reason would be that "setting" is perhaps more difficult to arrange administratively.

No experiment must commit the Education Department to supply more staff, more accommodation, more equipment or more funds without prior consultation. Nor must parents be put to expense without their concurrence.

The question of government in a school is of prime importance, and should therefore make provision, especially in secondary schools, for student opinion to make itself known. Ways of bringing this about will differ with the size and nature of each school, and the relative age and maturity of the students concerned. Methods are best left for the schools to work out.

Finally, the sooner the old concept of the fixed timetable and the strictly regulated movement as the blue-print of the school day disappears, the better.

The time-table should reflect a great variety of individual approaches. The time-table should be the servant of curriculum, and both be servants to the student.

(A.W. Jones)

Director General of Education.

August, 1970.

Appendix M: The Purposes of Schools (1975).¹

Schools should assist every child:

To acquire the greatest possible understanding of himself and an appreciation of his worth as a member of society.

To acquire understanding and appreciation of persons belonging to social, cultural, and ethnic groups different from his own.

To acquire understanding and appreciation of his cultural heritage and that of other people.

To acquire to the fullest extent possible for him mastery of the basic skills in the use of words and numbers.

These basic skills fall into four categories:

- (1) The ability to acquire ideas through reading, listening, and observing.**
- (2) The ability to communicate through writing and speaking.**
- (3) The ability to handle mathematical operations.**
- (4) The ability to reason logically, and to use evidence and make individual value judgements.**

To acquire a positive attitude towards the learning process.

To acquire the habits and attitudes associated with responsible citizenship. These should include at least:

- (1) A set of personal values which will include honesty, compassion for the less fortunate, a respect for the individuality and rights of others and a habit of fair dealing.**

- (2) A readiness to join with others without thought of personal gain, either as a leader or participant, in activities designed to improve community living either within the family or in a wider group.
- (3) An acceptance of the need to operate within instructions and customs observed by the majority, even while thinking and acting as an individual and bringing rational criticism to bear upon them.

To acquire good health habits and an understanding of the conditions necessary for the maintenance of physical and emotional well-being.

To have opportunity and encouragement to be creative in as many fields of endeavour as possible.

To give equal opportunity to each child to obtain an education that will enable him to develop fully abilities and skills which will give him satisfaction in occupying any position, commensurate with those abilities and skills.

To understand and appreciate human achievement and failure in the past.

To prepare for a world of rapid change and unforeseeable demands in which continuing education throughout his adult life should be a normal expectation.

¹ Despite the fact the document above was a major policy statement on the purposes of schools, it was issued as a duplicated document in the format above. It was forwarded to schools with a brief accompanying letter from A.W. Jones, Director General of Education, in 1975. It was republished in glossy format (as curriculum policy) in "The Schools Curriculum 1", (1976), A.B. James, Government Printer, Appendix D, pp 36 -37.

Appendix N: Research Diary and Research Difficulties.

This study began with a number of assumptions and hypothesis, and these were put to the test by the methodology planned. A number of these assumptions and hypothesis proved to be wrong at a very early stage of the research, making it necessary to plan again the direction of the study. In addition, some of the material expected to be available as a resource basis was unavailable at the commencement of the research, forcing the researcher to adjust the methodology and include interviews with a wider number of policy actors than initially planned. Later, missing archival material became available, and became extremely useful in triangulating interview information, statistical information, and for developing subsequent questions that would give greater insight into the policy processes, variables, and power relationships.

In hindsight, the changes in direction helped enhance the study, and provided greater detail about malleable variables than may have been attained otherwise. Hence this appendix is designed to give the reader an appreciation of the evolution of the research, which brought together science, craftlore, and art. The science was the theoretical starting point, embodying concepts and methodological principles. The craftlore emerged from the workable techniques applied, and the operating procedures that became standard for each period of study, while the art was the adjustments to pace, style, and the manner in which the research was accomplished.

In the preliminary consideration of the study and in planning the methodology the period between December 1978 and June 1981 appeared to characterise the most significant curriculum policy developments, with 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' being produced as a charter for all subsequent curriculum developments in South Australia. Many of those involved in policy development during this time could be located and interviewed, allowing both the formal documented pathways and the

informal structures to be explored. This appeared therefore to be a sensible starting point for the study.

Initial difficulties were experienced in obtaining information from Education Department Archives - the material did not appear to exist. Hence study priorities focussed initially on beliefs of sociologists about the purposes of schools, and the subsequent interviews of those involved in the policy process between 1978 and 1981.

Early interviews quickly revealed that the period 1978 -1981 was only one of a series of apparent policy 'end points' arising from significant discussions dating back as early as 1968. It was not a distinct 'policy package' development and to focus on this period would devalue the forces that brought about the final policy document 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes'. Hence the researcher found it necessary to identify all key curriculum policy documents from 1968 until 1985, and to follow the development of each, if an adequate appreciation and understanding of the processes in South Australia was to be achieved.

Another significant finding established early in the study related to policy development processes. Progress appeared to be strongly contingent on the people involved, and their beliefs about society. Thus it became necessary to look more closely at the informal structures, as they became equally important in the policy outcomes as the formal structure under close scrutiny, although some significant political interventions in the final stages of the 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' (1981) partly negated these findings.

The assumption that relevant people and committees would base their policy development work on a strong theoretical basis was quickly erased, and the questions planned for actors in the processes had to be refocussed accordingly. Several key actors had undertaken some curriculum studies, but most policy development was seen as an

exercise in using the normal decision making processes exercised by committees within the Education Department. This lack of a research or theoretical basis for curriculum policy development contributed to the process problems experienced with the 'Into the 80s - Curriculum Authority and Responsibility' (1985) document.

It was not until the completion of the field research that many of the 'missing Education Department archives' were found in a 'box in the basement!' While very incomplete, they confirmed the outcomes of interviews, and demonstrated that there were significant curriculum policy influences from 1968 onwards that impinged on 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' policy outcomes. Pieces of correspondence tended to further indicate that personalities played a significant part in the social and political context of curriculum policy development - a matter confirmed later by more detailed analysis.

While one door opened, another closed. The archival material was valuable in triangulating the interview data, and looked as if it would be useful in directing me to other documentation held in the Education Department Library, and the Wattle Park Teachers Centre Library. However, Wattle Park Teacher Centre was about to be sold, and all its resources had been placed in containers, ready for relocation to the 'Orphanage' teacher Training and Development Centre when renovations were complete (anticipated early 1990). In a similar way, to make way for Central Office renovations, the Education Department Library had also been closed for business. Through the good-will of the former librarians, speeches made by J. Walker, A. Jones, and some curriculum records, were eventually found amongst the boxes and made available.

As part of this study methodology, the South Australian Institute of Teachers was formally invited to comment on their contribution to Education Department curriculum policies since 1968, and an effort was made to arrange interviews with the former Presidents who would have been involved in any negotiations relating to policy

documents. The South Australian Institute of Teachers, while making its library available, chose not to be involved in the study, and unfortunately any correspondence between the Education Department and the South Australian Institute of Teachers on these matters was not made available for research purposes.

As the researcher had (erroneously) anticipated a strong union involvement in curriculum policy development, the information for this section had to be established based on the assumption that the South Australian Institute of Teachers interest in Curriculum policies would be reflected in the editorial comment of the 'South Australian Teachers Journal' publications, as well as in the professional articles, and debate conducted through this journal. Hence each journal from 1967 to the present was perused, and curriculum comment extracted. Chapter eight records this information.

Perhaps the most significant outcome of the initial research related to the process of decision making leading to curriculum policy changes in South Australia. In making comparison with theoretical approaches to public policy, 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' could clearly be seen as characterised by incrementalism as reflected in the thoughts of Lindblom, and recorded in Elboim - Dror¹ who would have described these activities as the "science of muddling through". Thus greater attention in the literature search was given to the work of Lindblom, Lasswell, and others, who explored closely the incremental developments of public policies.

Once the original assumption that the 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' policy document processes could be researched by close observations spanning the period of three years from 1978 - 1981 had been demonstrated as incorrect, the methodology was extended to involve more extensive archival research and further interviews with some of the key people of the earlier period.

¹ Elboim - Dror, R, 1970, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

This proved fortuitous, as it quickly emphasised that the policy processes were not the same throughout the study period, and that the context in which policies were made was also dynamic. Hence generalisations associated with policy analysis (such as were made in establishing many of the initial hypothesis) needed to be avoided.

Indeed, each policy plan appeared to be more effective as an interpretation of past decisions, than as a programme for future ones. This observation proved particularly relevant to 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' document, which clearly had a symbolic purpose. M. O'Brien and others interviewed later confirmed these observations.

To establish a starting point for the study, 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' was chosen from amongst curriculum policy documents. It was chosen to commence the study in 1985, because it was the most recent statement developed in what appeared to be a democratic process operating over a comparatively short period of history (three years). Hence policy actors could still be interviewed, and archival information was likely to be readily available.

It was planned to use the experiences of observing and analyzing the forces bringing about this policy to determine the approach to all or some of the other system policies identified over this period.

Two key people from the South Australian Education Department, who were closely involved in developing 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' were invited to become consultants to me in establishing the background information. I chose to use M. O'Brien, currently retired and former Director of Curriculum, and R. Smallacombe, Superintendent of Curriculum at the time of this policy development. They were chosen, as they were both available, and both had been part of the system in the development of each of the policies identified for consideration for analysis. As

O'Brien had retired, it was anticipated that he could 'tell it as it was' without fear of any system reaction. Smallacombe, was a potential user of the study outcomes and as such was likely to be supportive. In this way, some useful preliminary information could be and was obtained as well as support for the study itself.

With the assistance of these people, the pathways leading to the policies in question were established by identifying positions of authority, communication flow, major gatekeepers, key stakeholders, and the historical nature of the issues from their inauguration as subjects of policy attention to their current status.

Using the assistance of Smallacombe and O'Brien the policy making process was charted for 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes'. This model was similar to that developed by Ann Majchrzak² on methodology, as illustrated in chapter three of this study. It became evident at this early stage, that similar charts for earlier curriculum policies could not be established, as the processes were less dependent on democratic procedures, and relied more on the initiatives of key individuals. Nevertheless, it clarified the model used for the 1981 policy statement, and in doing so helped to.....

- * establish a process chart
- * identify the key stakeholders and actors for each portion of the chart.
- * identify the critical decision points through which decisions must pass.
- * identify the potential power structure amongst stakeholders.
- * establish the internal socio-political environment.

A number of actors representing each stakeholder were interviewed to modify the chart, and to discover definitions, values and assumptions that they held at the time of policy formation.

² Majchrzak, Ann, 1984, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

At this stage the background information obtained made it possible to synthesize the information on causes, values, assumptions, and definitions (value mapping) gained to this point. The initial intention was to chart the information to represent values, with a subsequent chart being developed to show stakeholders. This assumed levels of conflict between groups of stakeholders that did not appear to exist in practice, and also assumed some homogeneity amongst the membership of the different stakeholder groups. It was evident at this early stage that the values of several individuals were more important than the group values, and the information was noted for the conceptual stage of the policy research, rather than charted.

Specific research questions were designed for use with stakeholders so that the following information could be obtained about the processes leading to the drafting of 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes', and other curriculum policy processes. These, and other questions were designed with each interviewee in mind, and while many questions were common a significant number related to the part particular individuals played. (Appendices B, C, and D provide samples of questions designed for different actors).

- * what were the real problems being addressed in the formulation of each policy (assumption that different actors and stakeholders would have different agendas)?
- * what were the malleable variables at the time?
- * how were these variables 'massaged'?
- * which stakeholders appeared to influence happenings, and why?
- * how did stakeholders gather, sort, and organize data?
- * what opportunities existed for stakeholders to influence each other?

Initially a sample of eleven actors were selected as key representative of the stakeholders, and interviews were conducted. For more accurate triangulation of information, the number of actors finally interviewed for a period of time greater than

one hour exceeded twenty, and a further ten brief interviews - some by telephone - were necessary to confirm survey data obtained in this way.

In addition to survey data, considerable time was spent in archival research. This proved exceedingly frustrating and difficult, as the South Australian Education Department archives consisted of boxes of loose and unrelated information roughly sorted into 'years' rather than 'subjects'. Over time much of the information had been lost, mislaid, or perhaps never kept, though information on the document 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' was far more complete than information on the curriculum policy documents published during the earlier period considered in this study. Where possible, agendas, minutes of meetings, work papers, and draft documents were perused, with particular note taken of margin notes and value statements made by officers involved in the processes.

Simultaneously, further reading was done relating to public policy processes and their operation, in preparation for the technical analysis to follow the information gathering.

Literature that had been written about the system policies (very little) was also reviewed in preparation for analysis. The researcher became very reliant on brief articles prepared by Professor W. Boyd, of Pennsylvania State University, to obtain a better understanding of the politics of curriculum policy development.

The information derived provided a sound understanding of the curriculum policy approaches used, the context, stakeholders and actors, and values and assumptions relating to each policy document. Within those, a number of variables emerged, some of which were malleable, or able to be modified in some way by individual reformers or stakeholder groups. The most malleable were selected for further study. They were

- * internal and external policy stimuli.
- * political influences.
- * personalities
- * ideologies and values
- * restructuring influences
- * agenda setting

In addition the influence of both unions and parents were singled out for further investigation, as the literature search gave considerable cognizance to these groups as policy leaders.

It proved necessary and desirable (as Majchrzak predicted) to formulate a further set of research questions to address these malleable variables, and to establish the contextual issues more clearly. A second round of interviews was devised which included a different set of actors (former Director Generals, union and parent leaders, government enquiry participants, and politicians) as well as a few key actors identified as central to the processes being investigated.

In doing this, quite specific measurable indicators were sought wherever possible (appendices E and F show the specific questions asked of John Steinle and Jean Blackburn). This approach is outlined in more detail in Majchrzak (1984)³. The methodology included in-depth one to one interviews, telephone interviews, and a search of Journals and Newspapers. Reference was also made to case studies that involved a sample of policy users undertaken as parts of internal reviews undertaken by Superintendents, schools, and Principals (for example, 'Primary Education Review' 1987), though outcomes here are not recorded, as the findings were not related to the processes of system policy development.

³ *ibid*, p. 56.

As part of the interview process, permission was obtained from the participants for the discussion to be tape-recorded. The interviews were then typed up verbatim, and sent back to them for any alterations, additions or deletions they would like to make. They were advised that the information recorded could be quoted in the final thesis publication, and they were asked to indicate any sections where they did not wish to be quoted. A stamped addressed envelope was provided - and all but two transcripts were returned.

Initially, as part of the methodology plan, it was hoped to use the insights gained from hind-sight, by getting together representatives of the initial stakeholders, to reconstruct the process with reduced participants and work towards an acceptable policy that differed from the original - then analyze the differences. This did not occur, as it would only have been relevant to the 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' document, and even then, political intervention towards the end of the process rather than the work of the steering committee or curriculum coordinating committee dictated the final outcomes.

As part of the interview process, the feasibility and acceptability to the stakeholders and organizational parameters of 'Into the 80s - Our Schools and Their Purposes' and other policy recommendations, were established.⁴

The final analysis of the policy processes was planned and undertaken in two parts (though each is not mutually exclusive or treated independently). The first part was to review the processes in terms of the events as they occurred (descriptive), and as outlined by Majchrzak. A secondary analysis was then undertaken in terms of processes associated with public policy processes and the assumptions made about them.

⁴ *ibid*, p. 76.

It was also thought to be useful to use the questions developed by Hogwood and Gunn⁵ in their framework for public policy analysis that involved both description and prescription. This framework is described in chapter three which outlines the research methodology. These questions helped clarify the reasons for the re-emergence of the major issue - the purposes of schooling - and helped sharpen the analysis undertaken.

The first draft (1988) of the research conclusions included chapters on each of the variables, as well as discussion on each of the policy documents chosen as part of the study. As the role of parents and unions proved to be relatively insignificant in the development of these policies, these chapters were compacted into one. Similarly, the large chapter on values was reduced. A significant amount of research data was excluded, as it had little bearing on the policy development. In a similar way, portions of chapters which went beyond the study topic were omitted.

Hence the second draft provided a historical background, a discussion of the key literature, the research methodology planned for use, and chapters giving a descriptive account of the findings of each of four distinct periods of centralized curriculum policy development before giving conclusions relevant to the study.

This structure has been modified in successive iterations to highlight the research outcomes, the findings of which vary considerably from the initial hypothesis.

⁵ Hogwood and Gunn, 1984, *op. cit.*, p. 68.